The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXV

The End of Expansion

TRANSLATED BY KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP

The End of Expansion
Volume XXV
Translated by Khalid Yahya Blankinship

This volume deals with the part of Ṭabarī's great *History* covering the first fifteen years of the caliphate of the Umayyad Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, which represents almost the last period of universal political unity in Islamic history. Ṭabarī's work is generally recognized as among the most important sources for Hishām's reign. Here the bitter fighting faced by the Muslim forces on the frontiers receives extensive and graphic coverage. In particular, the unrewarding and continuous war against the pagan Turks in Khurāsān, a struggle that did so much to alienate the troops and thus to spread disaffection with Umayyad rule, is recorded in much more detail than elsewhere. Military disasters such as the Day of Thirst, the Day of Kamarjah, and the Day of the Defile are vividly portrayed.

Ṭabarī also devotes considerable attention to the growing internal problems that clouded the latter days of Hishām's rule, including the persistent contest for power between the great tribal groupings and the struggle of non-Arab Muslims for a better status for themselves in the Islamic state. The burgeoning fiscal difficulties that threatened the state under Hishām are also highlighted. Additionally, there are many reports of the earliest 'Abbāsid revolutionary activity. This volume is not only essential for the study of the reign of Hishām but also for understanding the background of the Umayyads' downfall and the establishment of 'Abbāsid rule, laying bare some of the roots of the final breakdown of Islamic political unity.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXV

The End of Expansion:

THE CALIPHATE OF HISHĀM

A.D. 724-738/A.H. 105-120

The History of al-Ṭabarī

SUNY

SERIES IN NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

Said Amir Arjomand, Editor

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXV

The End of Expansion

translated
by

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

University of Washington

State University of New York Press

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission *(isnād)* to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd–Salamah–Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others which cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

This volume of Ṭabarī's history covers the first fifteen years of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-120/724-738), which represents nearly the last epoch of universal political unity in Islamic history and of apparent political stability under the Umayyads. Ṭabarī's general subject is the history of Islam and its universal caliphate, which reached its widest extent at this time. Thus one might hope for a comprehensive treatment in this volume of the lands under Hishām's rule, but this is not the case. A historian covering such a large geographical area must be selective, and Ṭabarī must be thanked for giving us as much as he has. But his interest is confined in this volume almost entirely to the East, particularly Khurāsān and Iraq, with even metropolitan Syria brought in mainly to show the relationship of these two provinces to the seat of Umayyad power. Not only is North Africa almost entirely ignored, as throughout Ṭabarī generally, but so are Egypt, Arabia, and Western Iran. This seems to be a conscious selection on the writer's part, as local sources for these areas were apparently available. Like most ancient histories, Ṭabarī's work is also somewhat limited in the way it covers even the provinces it is concerned with, by stressing the noble and ruling elements rather than the common people, for example, or by evincing more interest in wars and battles than in peaceful developments. However, this deficiency is perhaps less than that often met with in similar chronicles of ancient or medieval history, as much social and economic information can be gleaned from the pages of the

present volume. In this respect Ṭabarī's narratives may prefigure more modern historical concerns. And Ṭabarī's own special interests, such as campaigns in Khurāsān, enjoy by far the best coverage available in any source and are thoroughly dealt with.

Ṭabarī's value as a historian depends heavily on the value of his sources, as his own input is mainly limited to the selection and arrangement of the material. He quotes extensively from the works of historians of the end of the second and the beginning of the third century of the hijrah, prominent among whom are, in order of frequency of quotation, Madā'inī (d.215/830), Wāqidī (d.207/822), Abū 'Ubaydah (d.210/825) and al-Haytham b. 'Adī (d.207/822). These men were born around the beginning of 'Abbasid rule and thus were able to hear the accounts of other eyewitnesses to the period covered by the present volume. Frequently however, their accounts came through intermediate transmitters who probably had often written them down some time before the later historians included them in their works. In either case, the likelihood of the accuracy of Ṭabarī's narratives relating to Hishām's reign is enhanced by the relatively short time between the events and their being written down and by the fact that living eyewitnesses or contemporaries to the events were used as informants for the written sources Ṭabarī used.

Indeed, the narratives themselves here show less tendentiousness than is found in some other parts of Ṭabarī, such as in the material drawn from Sayf b. 'Umar. Hishām, though so hated by the 'Abbāsid revolutionaries that his corpse was exhumed, hacked up and crucified, is not painted in the blackest of colors here, which lends some credibility to Ṭabarī's accounts. For example, on his pilgrimage to Mecca in 106/725, Hishām is shown unwilling to curse 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (p. 1483), he piously leads the prayers over recently deceased religious personages, one a grandson of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and he greets the grandson of Abū Bakr in a friendly manner (p.1472). Khālid al-Qasrī, the great viceroy of the East, receives a mixed treatment, evidently a composite from different sources. Each governor of Khurāsān is also dealt with from various points of view, not wholly unfavorably. Thus Ashras al-Sulamī is nicknamed both "the Perfect" (p. 1504) and "Frog" (p. 1505), showing opposite views about him. Interestingly, both reports come through Madā'inī, and their respective tribal sources,

the Muḍar and the Bakr, reveal that these are expected partisan opinions. Also, al-Junayd al-Murrī, though probably rightly condemned by Khurāsānī poets for the disastrous Battle of the Defile (pp. 1553-9), is favorably portrayed elsewhere (pp. 1533, 1565).

This does not mean, though, that Ṭabarī's accounts are free from bias. Indeed, many of the competing tribal accounts are violently biased against their rivals. But the author shows no favoritism for one group over another, as he quotes from all the different tribal factions.

A notable tendency of this section of Ṭabarī, and not unique to him among the sources, is his heavy reliance for Hishām's reign on Khurāsānī sources, which tend to exalt Khurāsānī personages and army units at the expense of others, especially the Syrians. Naṣr b. Sayyār, for example, is always seen in a favorable light and his self-congratulatory poetry extensively quoted. The sufferings of the Khurāsānī troops are graphically portrayed in the various battles. But the Khurāsānīs do also sometimes come in for criticism. Al-Mujashshir al-Sulamī, who had an extremely long career as a Khurāsānī notable, usually is shown giving good advice to the amirs (e.g., p. 1544) but on the day of Kharīstān is ridiculed by Asad al-Qasrī for his timidity (p. 1608).

Probably the most problematic accounts are those telling about early ʿAbbāsid missionary work, as this was carried on in secret and as embarrassing facts were probably early suppressed. Certain statements, such as the accusations levelled against ʿAmmār or ʿUmārah b. Yazīd ("Khidāsh") are probably false (p. 1588). Otherwise, the brave martyrs of the ʿAbbāsid movement are gloriously portrayed (pp. 1501-3). But the coverage of the movement is uneven and must be read in conjunction with other sources, such as the anonymous and immensely important *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-ʿAbbāsiyyah.*

The literary quality of Ṭabarī's history also deserves consideration. Though some lines consist of dry chronicling of events, the bulk of the text contains lively, exciting war narratives that make fascinating reading, conveying a vibrant portrayal of the feelings of the participants. Outstanding among these are the detailed accounts of the campaigns of Kamarjah (pp. 1516-25), the Defile (pp. 1531- 59) and Kharīstān (pp. 1593-1618), which reveal the desperation felt by the Muslims in their long struggle with the Turks.

Ṭabarī's text is also punctuated by poetry, especially that relating to the battles and their results. Startling the reader with their graphic imagery and stirring language, the poems by the otherwise unknown al-Shar'abī al-Ṭā'ī and Ibn 'Irs al-'Abdī (pp. 1554-9) convey the poets' impression of the exhaustion and desperation the Muslims felt after the Battle of the Defile, as well as of their rage toward their commander. Contrasting with this virile poetry is the elaborate literary language of the court, with its complex parallelisms epitomized by the long letters sent by Hishām to Khālid al-Qasrī and the Umayyad notable the latter had insulted (pp. 1642-6). Although flowery and carefully constructed rather than spontaneous, these too are not ineffective in getting their message across. Even if they turn out to be inauthentic compositions of somewhat later date, like the speeches of Thucydides, they do still clearly represent the development of the chancery style so widely met with in official writing in the Muslim world for a long time after.

Analyzing the contents of this volume reveals the fewness of the subjects Ṭabarī has chosen to dwell on, which in turn discloses his purpose. He has opted to treat narrow areas in depth while totally omitting much else, rather than to spread himself thin over the whole territory of Dār al-Islām. Dealing with the reign of Hishām, he has concentrated with a singleness of purpose on painting the background of the 'Abbāsids' advent to power, although events in other provinces such as North Africa were significant. Hence the desperate conditions of the Khurāsānīs receive top billing, while even Iraq and Syria are mainly subordinated to events in the far eastern province where 'Abbāsid rule arose.

In fact, the fifteen years covered by this volume were indeed ones of epic struggle, as the Muslim caliphate seemed to be fighting for its very life. Hishām's reign witnessed the state's resources stretched to the breaking point. The furious Turkish onslaught of 102-19/720-37 detailed by Ṭabarī left the Khurāsānī Arab tribal regiments decimated, even though the enemy was finally defeated. A continuous series of hard-fought battles including the relief of Qaṣr al-Bāhilī 102/720, the Day of Thirst 106/724, Kamarjah 110/728, the Day of the Defile 113/731, and Kharīstān 119/737, along with many others mentioned by Ṭabarī and possibly others not mentioned, such as the fall of Samarqand possibly in 113/731,

led to high Muslim losses. It is most notable that after the Day of the Defile, many Khurāsānī tribal surnames never again appear as part of the army in Khurāsān, leading one to suppose they had been annihilated or their men had given up fighting. Some Khurāsānī troops remain, of course, but their divisions are now parallelled by Syrian ones. Thus it appears, particularly from Ṭabarī's emphasis, that the Day of the Defile was practically a turning point in the war with the Turks, at least as far as the Khurāsānīs were concerned and, despite the army being rescued, was a Pyrrhic victory at best. Elsewhere, the period had witnessed only a year previously in 112/730 the destruction of al-Jarrāḥ al-Ḥakamī in the Caucasus, another big, or possibly bigger, disaster in which even the commander, a famous general, was slain. Ṭabarī describes this only briefly, however, as he also does with regard to the annual campaigns against the Byzantines, some of which were also disastrous for the Muslims, such as that of 113/731 (p. 1560). Unmentioned are the festering troubles in North Africa and the defeat of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī at Balāṭ al-Shuhadā' in France in 114/732, where the Muslim advance into Europe was permanently checked. These military crises on virtually every front belie the apparent calm inside the boundaries of the Muslim caliphate and must have contributed heavily to releasing the pent-up internal forces that would bring down the Umayyads.

Indeed, Ṭabarī reveals the actual internal instability of the state under Hishām, despite the general outward calm on the surface. Crises in Khurāsān resulting from backsliding on the promised removal of tax burdens from the *mawālī*, the non-Arab Muslims, as described in this volume, had their parallels elsewhere, for example, in North Africa under Yazīd b. Abī Muslim. Failure to deal effectively with the problem led ominously to the revolt of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj from at least 116/734 onward. In Iraq, small Khārijite revolts occurred, whose leaders are often given the stature of heroes. Most remarkable is the government's frightened overreaction, which lays bare a jittery state of mind, despite the smallness of the revolts themselves. Also, the cruel punishments meted out to rebels and heretics by the Umayyad government in this period stick in the reader's mind, as Ṭabarī doubtless intended, and further point to the frenzied alarm it felt.

That all is not well with the state is also emphasized by the ap-

parent corruption of the governors. As governorships were often briefly held, they seem to have been looked on as an opportunity to get rich, as in the story of Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥārithī (pp. 1468-71). This possibility gains support from the frequent torturing of ex-governors by their successors in order to get them to disgorge their wealth. In the present volume, this befell 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym al-Murrī (p. 1565), the successor of al-Junayd, 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh (p. 1581) and Khālid al-Qasrī (e.g., pp. 1654-5). In addition 'Umar b. Hubayrah and Muslim b. Sa'īd at least felt the threat of similar treatment (pp. 1485, 1488). The vast estates amassed and sums of money supposedly embezzled by Khālid al-Qasrī also paint for us an extravagant picture of exploitation of an office for one's own benefit and that of one's retainers (pp. 1641-2, 1648, 1654-5).

If all this is to find any explanation aside from personal greed, it must be sought in the realm of tribal party politics. As the spoils system then at work allowed every new governor to fill all posts with political appointees from his own party, his own supporters and retainers would inevitably clamor for such posts. And this indeed seems to have been the fate of Khālid al-Qasrī, who is shown almost broke after having distributed all his gains to his party (p. 1651).

The downfall of Khālid in 120/738 after more than fourteen years as viceroy of the East is another epochmaking, watershed event to which Ṭabarī devotes considerable attention. Unfortunately, in spite of the numerous possible causes cited in these pages, the exact reason for his dismissal cannot be discerned with certainty, but it is highly likely that Ṭabarī has not included all of the background of this important change. Some of the reasons alleged, such as slighting comments made by Khālid about Hishām or the former's insulting behaviour toward Ibn 'Amr b. Sa'īd (pp. 1642-7), are too trivial to be the cause, though altogether they may have presented an uppitiness the Umayyads found provoking. The financial reasons are perhaps important, especially given a possible financial crisis caused by the vast scale of military operations in Hishām's reign. This may have led him to demand much greater fiscal accountability and stringency than was the case in previous reigns, which in turn may have left Hishām with his lasting reputation for avarice. But it is also probable that partisan disputes in

the Umayyad house itself, perhaps extending to the Syrian army leadership, had much to do with Khālid's dismissal. It is unlikely that the death of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik only five months before Khālid's downfall was irrelevant to that event. Maslamah, the elder statesman of the Umayyad house, himself deprived of the succession owing to his being the son of a concubine, had always been a guiding and restraining influence, and Khālid probably would not have held the governorship of Iraq for fourteen years without his approval. Hishām had been unable to alter the succession in favor of his own son over Maslamah's opposition, and with Maslamah gone might have been more willing to bow to family pressures to remove Khālid, which Ṭabarī alludes to (pp. 1646, 1655-6). Whatever the case, the subject needs further study. It is Khālid's long rule that gives the period some of its outward appearance of stability, just as his sudden exit from the political stage at the end of this volume, along with the death of his brother Asad in the same year, foreshadows the Umayyads' own collapse shortly afterwards.

Khālid's replacement as viceroy of the East was the fanatical Qaysī Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī. His appointment and harsh acts against the opposing Yamanī faction nearly completed the total breakdown in the ability of the two groups to live in peace in the same state. Such factionalism had already appeared at al-Barūqān early in Hishām's reign in 106/724 in a clash between the Muḍar and the Yaman-Rabī'ah (pp. 1473-7). In fact, the increasing tribal factionalism is one of the salient motifs of Hishām's reign. It not only took place between the dominant Syrians and the provincial Arabs, such as the Khurāsānīs, as we have pointed out already, but was often more virulent between the Qays or Muḍar and Yaman-Rabī'ah factions inside each province and apparently throughout the caliphate, as it is attested in Ṭabarī or elsewhere in Khurāsān, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Spain, for Hishām's time or shortly thereafter. The underlying basis of it has been much discussed, for example, by Wellhausen[1], Shaban[2] and Crone.[3] Generally it has been felt that such widespread rivalries and disor-

1. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 180-2, 201-2, 208-11, 259-61, 322, 326, 328-9, 359-60 and passim.
2. Shaban, *Islamic History*, 120-4, 146, 152, 154-5, 170-1.
3. Crone, *Slaves*, 37-48.

ders must have a more immediate effective cause than mere tribal feuding and that the tribes in any case do not represent primeval social groups but rival army units or political factions. This belief receives support from the ability of certain tribes to change their membership in the larger groupings almost at will, like the seemingly opportunistic Bāhilah in 106/724 (pp. 1473-7). Originally from southeastern Arabia near the Gulf, perhaps near Abū Ẓabī, this large tribe became great with Qutaybah b. Muslim, the inveterate Qaysī (d. 96/715), but here, only a few years later, Qutaybah's brother is leader of the Yaman-Rabī'ah faction, the Bāhilah now claiming to belong to the Banū Ma'n, part of the Yamanī Azd. Additionally, the Raba'ī Taghlib try to claim them. In each case, a genealogy is provided justifying their factional membership. Another example is Asad al-Qasrī's beating of the leaders of each of the four major tribal groupings in Khurāsān (pp. 1498-1500) and then wrongly being accused of tribal favoritism. Here the Khurāsānīs' resentment toward the central government is more important than tribal divisions among themselves.

But certain observations are in order before tribal group feeling is dismissed as a motivation. First, throughout Ṭabarī's history of the Umayyads all persons, whether in the military or not, are usually identified by their tribal *nisbah*, the badge of membership in one of the 200 or more primeval or at least pre-Islamic tribes of Arabia. Non-Arabs also have this membership as clients *(mawālī)* of one tribe or another. Although a certain amount of intermarriage was possible, often for political reasons, this did not strongly affect the feeling of belonging to a patrilineal descent in a particular primeval tribe. Thus, although Naṣr b. Sayyār's mother was from the Raba'ī Taghlib and his two known wives from the Tamīm, his own loyalty to the Layth is shown by the number of his close associates from that tribe. Suffice it to say that membership in a smaller tribal group was in this period the main means of social identification inside the Muslim community. The larger tribal groupings were more artificial, although not wholly so, as they also tended to go back to defined geographical areas in Arabia. But they too took on a strong tribal coloration replete with ethnic feeling that prevailed right down to the end of the Umayyad rule and recurred sporadically thereafter. That certain tribes changed their larger groupings does not mean that

most did so. The Bāhilah's finding their way back to membership in the Ma'n of the Yamanī Azd shows only their understandable reversion to the group of their original geographical neighbors in Arabia after they were unnaturally sundered from them by Qutaybah's service to al-Ḥajjāj and the opportunity that gave him to promote his tribe to better status. Finally, it might well be wondered whether the Muḍar tribes on the whole were not more nomadic and the Yaman more sedentary and whether that did not play a role in forming their attitudes originally and contributing to their rivalry and mutual aversion across the caliphate. This is also a subject for further study.

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Khalid Yahya Blankinship

The
Events of the Year
105
(JUNE 10, 723—MAY 28, 724)

The Caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [1466]

In this year, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik was made Caliph in the latter part of Shaʿbān [105] (January 3–31, 724). He was then some months beyond his thirty-fourth birthday.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah[1] —ʿAlī[2] —Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī,[3] Abū Muḥammad al-Ziyādī, al-Minhāl b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Suḥaym b. Ḥafṣ al-ʿUjayfī:[4] Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik was born the year Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr was slain, that is the year 72 (691). His mother was ʿĀʾishah bt. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl b. Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. As she was retarded, her family ordered her not to speak to ʿAbd al-Malik until she gave birth. She would pile up pillows and then climb on one of them, driving it as if it were a steed. She would also

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1. Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Zayd (nicknamed Shabbah) b. ʿUbayd b. Rayṭah, the mawlā of the Banū Numayr c. 172(788)–262(876). Well-known historian and traditionist from al-Baṣrah. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 125; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345.

2. That is, al-Madāʾinī.

3. Possibly Abū Muḥammad b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī. Compare isnāds in Ṭabarī, II/2, 209–10.

4. Abū al-Yaqẓān ʿĀmir b. Abī Muḥammad Ḥafṣ, the mawlā of the Banū ʿUjayf. Nicknamed Suḥaym. Famous genealogist and historian of the Tamīm as well as other Muḍarī tribes. Died 170(786) or 190(806). See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106–7; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 266–7; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 235.

buy frankincense and, after chewing it up, she would mold out of it images which she would then set on the pillows. Having given to each image the name of a slave girl, she would call out, "O so-and-so," and so on. ʿAbd al-Malik later divorced her because of her retardedness. When ʿAbd al-Malik went out to fight Muṣʿab and killed him, the news of the birth of Hishām reached the Caliph. Looking upon his birth as a good omen, he named the child Manṣūr, but the mother gave him the name of her father, Hishām. ʿAbd al-Malik did not oppose that, and he thus became Hishām. He was given the patronymic Abū al-Walīd.

[1467] According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar[5] —his informants: The Caliphate came to Hishām while he was at al-Zaytūnah[6] at his residence on a small estate of his there. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar saw it himself and regarded it as small. (There) a postal rider brought Hishām the staff and ring of office, and he was saluted as Caliph, whereupon he rode from al-Ruṣāfah[7] until coming to Damascus.

Bukayr b. Māhān and the ʿAbbāsid Revolutionaries

In this year Bukayr b. Māhān[8] came from Sind, where he had been serving as a translator for al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[9] When al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was removed from office, Bukayr came to al-Kūfah, having with him four bars of silver and one of gold. There he met Abū ʿIkrimah al-Ṣādiq,[10] Maysarah,[11] Muḥammad

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5. That is, al-Wāqidī.

6. A Syrian desert retreat of Hishām, it was believed to be on or near the Euphrates, but possibly may be identified with Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī near al-Qaryatayn between Palmyra and Damascus. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 163.

7. Thought to be Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī between Palmyra and al-Raqqah, it was Hishām's favorite residence. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī; *EI*¹, s.v. al-Ruṣāfa.

8. Abū Hāshim al-Hurmuzfarrahī, the mawlā of the Yamanī Banū Musliyah. From the village of Hurmuzfarrah in the Marw oasis, he was the chief agent of the Hāshimiyyah in al-Kūfah until his death about 127(745). See *EI*², s.v. Bukayr b. Māhān.

9. Al-Murrī, wrongly called Ibn ʿAbdallāh in *EI*². Governor of Khurasan 111(729)-116(734). See *EI*², s.v. Djunayd b. ʿAbd Allāh; Crone, *Slaves*, 98.

10. Abū ʿIkrimah Ziyād b. Dirham al-Sarrāj al-Ṣādiq, the mawlā of the Hamdān, who assumed the kunyah of Abū Muḥammad for purposes of secrecy. See note 120; also Ṭabari, III/2, 1358, 1453; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 191–2, 203–5; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 136–7.

11. Abū Rabāḥ (or Riyāḥ) al-Nabbāl, also al-Raḥḥāl, the mawlā of the Azd. See

b. Khunays,[12] Sālim al-A'yan,[13] and Abū Yaḥyā, the mawlā of the Banū Musliyah.[14] They told Bukayr about the missionary work of the Banū Hāshim. He accepted their call completely and spent all that he had with him on them. Afterwards, he went to Muḥammad b. 'Alī,[15] and, when Maysarah died,[16] Muḥammad b. 'Alī sent Bukayr b. Māhān to Iraq to take over Maysarah's post.

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām Leads the Pilgrimage

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl[17] led the pilgrimage this year while al-Naṣrī[18] was governor of al-Madīnah.

According to al-Wāqidī—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl—his father: Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl, while leading the pilgrimage, sent a messenger to 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ[19] to ask when he should give his sermon at Mecca. 'Aṭā' answered, "After the noon worship a day before the watering."[20] But Ibrāhīm then gave the sermon before noon, saying that his messenger had brought

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Akhbār al-Dawlah, 183; Sharon, *Black Banners,* 134.

12. The mawlā of the Hamdān. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah,* 183.

13. Probably the same as Sālim b. Bujayr b. 'Abdallāh al-A'mā, the mawlā of the Banū Musliyah, he died on the way to al-Kūfah from al-Ḥumaymah during the early phase of revolutionary activity. He was leader of the Hāshimite missionaries. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah,* 183, 191–2; Sharon, *Black Banners,* 136,146.

14. Text: *Salamah;* read *Musliyah.* As we have seen Bukayr b. Māhān himself, the Sālim in this list, and many of the early Hāshimite agents were clients of the Musliyah. *Akhbār al-Dawlah,* 192.

15. Grandson of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and progenitor of the 'Abbāsid dynasty. See *EI*², s.v. 'Abbāsids; Sharon, *Black Banners,* passim.

16. In 100(719). Ṭabarī's story about Bukayr b. Māhān here compresses the events of a number of years. See Sharon, *Black Banners,* 149–50.

17. Maternal uncle of the Caliph Hishām, he was executed with his brother by al-Walīd b. Yazīd's order in 125(743). See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom,* 354; Zubayrī, *Nasab,* 329.

18. Text: *al-Naḍrī;* read *al-Naṣrī,* as in Mss. B and O. He is 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Naṣrī. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah,* 270.

19. Text: *Riyāḥ;* read *Rabāḥ.* That is Abū Muḥammad 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ 27(646)–114(732) or 115(733), the mawlā of Quraysh and a Meccan jurist. See *EI*², s.v. 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ.

20. The day of watering *(tarwiyah)* in the pilgrimage is the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, when the pilgrims draw a supply of water for their move to Minā that day and to 'Arafah the following day. The sermons delivered at 'Arafah on the ninth and Minā on the tenth are the main ones, so it is strange that importance is attached to the timing of a sermon by the pilgrimage leader on the seventh, especially when that leader seems to have had a choice in the timing of the main sermons. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān,* s.v. r-w-a and n-f-r; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* II, 199, 215.

him such instructions from 'Aṭā', whereupon the latter responded that he had only instructed him to speak after the noon worship. In this way Ibrāhīm b. Hishām was put to shame on that day, for the people believed that the incident showed his ignorance.

Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī Becomes Governor of the East

In this year Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik dismissed 'Umar b.
[1468] Hubayrah[21] from the governorship of Iraq and the eastern provinces that went with it. He turned all of it over in Shawwāl (March 2 - 30, 724) to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī.[22]

According to Muḥammad b. Salām al-Jumaḥī—'Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarī[23] —'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr al-Usayyidī[24] : I entered into the presence of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik while Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī was there, reminding him of the loyalty of the Yaman. At this, I gave one loud clap of the hands saying, "By God, I never before saw such a mistake nor anything so nonsensical. By God, never was discord begun in Islam except by the Yaman. It was they who slew the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthmān and they who renounced (their allegiance to) the Commander of the Faithful 'Abd al-Malik. Our swords yet drip with the blood of the family of al-Muhallab."[25] Then when I got up, a man of the family of Marwān[26] who had been present followed me and said, "O brother from the Banū Tamīm, my fire has been kindled by you! I heard your remarks. The Commander of the Faithful has just appointed Khālid as governor over Iraq; it is no place for you now."

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21. Governor of Iraq and the East 103(721)-105(724). See *EI*², s.v. 'Umar b. Hubayra.

22. Governor of Iraq and the East 105(724)-120(738) and governor of Mecca ca. 89(708)-96(715) and possibly once before. See *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī.

23. Abū Rifā'ah al-Sulamī of al-Baṣrah, a descendant of Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī, the early tribal leader. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 368.

24. He was in charge of the security force at al-Baṣrah in 102(721) and earlier, and was killed in 109(727). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1417, 1495–6.

25. Refers to the slaughter of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab al- Azdī's family in 102(720) after the failure of his revolt. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1401, 1411–3; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 318–9.

26. That is, a relative of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the progenitor of the ruling family.

According to 'Abd al-Razzāq[27] —Ḥammād b. Sa'īd al-Ṣan'ānī—Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh[28] I came to Syria (*al-Sha'm*) and secured a loan (*iqtaraḍtu*).[29] One day, while I was at the door, that is, Hishām's door, a man suddenly came out from his presence and asked me, "Where are you from, young man?" I said that I was a Yamanī. Then he asked who I was. I told him Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān. Thereupon he smiled, saying, "Get up and go to the military camp and tell my companions to set out, for the Commander of the Faithful is well pleased with me and has bidden [1469] me to set out and assigned me someone to see to my departure." I then asked, "Who are you, may God have mercy on you?" He said, "Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī. Now command them, young man, to give you the head cloth from my clothes and my yellow horse." When I had gone a few steps, he called out, saying to me, "Young man, if you hear one day that I have been appointed governor of Iraq, then join me."

After that I went to them and said, "The amīr has sent me to you to say that the Commander of the Faithful is well pleased with him (i.e., Khālid) and has ordered him to go forth." At this, some started hugging me while others kissed my head. When I saw them doing that, I continued, "He has also ordered that you give me the head cloth from his clothes and his yellow steed." They answered, "Yes, by God, gladly," and they gave me both the head cover from his clothes and his yellow steed. No one in the camp was better dressed than I nor had a better mount after that.

It was only a little while later when it was said, "Khālid has been made governor of Iraq." That worried me, whereupon one of our officers from the ranks asked me, "Do I see you worried?" I

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27. Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Humām b. Nāfi' al-Ṣan'ānī, the mawlā of the Ḥimyar, 125(744)–211(827). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 310–5.

28. Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥijr b. 'Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī, the brother-in-law of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the 'Abbāsid imām. See Crone, *Slaves*, 149; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 26-31.

29. Text: *iqtaraḍtu*. Crone insists that this should read (*iftaraḍtu*), giving the meaning of the sentence, "I enrolled in the Damascus division of the army." However, there is no indication that Hishām was in Damascus at the time, so that *al-Sha'm* here may be taken to mean geographical Syria rather than Damascus. Presumably Ziyād came from outside Syria then, perhaps from Iraq. While the meaning could be that Ziyād had enrolled in the army, the attested reading in the text is not impossible either, especially if he was there seeking largesse from Hishām near the outset of the latter's reign. See Crone, *Slaves*, 55, 149, 243n.

answered, "Yes, Khālid has been made governor of such and such. I have found a pittance to get by on here, but I am afraid that if I go to him my circumstances may change and I may wind up a loser one way or another. Therefore, I don't know what I should do." The officer then asked, "Would you make an arrangement?" I asked what it might be. He said, "Let me manage your sources of income here while you set out. Then if you get what you want, I will keep (the revenues from) your sources of income for myself, and if not, you will come back and I will turn them over to you." I agreed and set out.

When I came to al-Kūfah, I put on some of my best clothes. The people were summoned (to the mosque). I waited until they sat down, then I entered and stood at the door, giving them greetings, wishing them well and invoking praise. Here the narrator raised his head and said: I gave them most friendly greetings indeed and did not return to my residence until I had gathered six hundred
[1470] dīnārs in cash and goods.

Afterwards, I used to visit Khālid often. One day he asked me, "Can you write, Ziyād?" I answered, "I can read, but I can't write, may God make the amīr prosper!" At this Khālid hit his forehead with his hand, saying, "We are God's and unto Him we return![30] There goes nine-tenths of what I wanted from you! Only one-tenth is left to you, in which there is the wealth of all time." I asked, "O amīr, is that one thing worth the price of a slave?" He answered, "What are you driving at now?" I said, "Buy a slave who can write and send him to me; he can teach me (to write)." To which Khālid replied, "Come now! You're too old for that!" But I said, "I am not," so he bought a slave who knew both writing and arithmetic for sixty dīnārs and sent him to me. Then I threw myself into the (study of) writing, and began to come to Khālid only at night. After only fifteen nights, I could write and read as I wished.

One night when I was at Khālid's, he questioned whether I had made any progress in the matter, to which I answered that I had and could now both write and read as I liked. But he said, "I think that you have only grasped a little bit, and that has impressed you." I said, "Certainly not!" Thereupon he raised his quilted cloak, and behold, there was a scroll. He then said, "Read this

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30. Qur'ān 2:156.

scroll." I read it from end to end, and lo, it was from Khālid's governor in al-Rayy. Khālid said, "Go, for I have given you his office."

I then went forth until I reached al-Rayy. There I seized the official in charge of taxation. He had sent a messenger to me, (first telling him), "This is only a crazy bedouin Arab, for the governor never sent an Arab to supervise taxation before. He is only in charge of the (military) supplies. Tell him if he keeps me in my office he can have three hundred thousand (dirhams)." I looked at my commission and saw that I was indeed only in charge of the supplies. So I said, "By God, no! I am beaten!" Then I wrote to Khālid, "You sent me to al-Rayy and I thought you had given me [1471] complete charge, but the official in charge of taxation has asked me to keep him in office and offered me three hundred thousand dirhams." Khālid wrote back to me saying, "Accept what he has given you and know that you have been cheated." After that, I remained there for a certain period of time. Then I wrote to Khālid saying, "I long for you, so recall me." He did so, and when I came to him he made me commander of his security force.

Governors

The governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if this year was 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naṣrī.[31] The judiciary of al-Kūfah was entrusted to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan[32] al-Kindī and that of al-Baṣrah to Mūsā b. Anas.[33]

It has also been said that Hishām only appointed Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī over Iraq and Khurāsān in 106 and that his governor of Iraq and Khurāsān in the year 105 was 'Umar b. Hubayrah.

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31. See note 18.

32. Text: *Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan*; read *al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan*. For his *nasab*, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 237, II, 355.

33. Son of the young companion of the Prophet Anas b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 351; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 192.

The Events of the Year 106

(May 29, 724—May 18, 725)

In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh from al-Madīnah as well as from Mecca and al-Ṭā'if and appointed over all of them his own material uncle Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī. He came to al-Madīnah on Friday the seventeenth of Jumādā II of the year 106 (November 10, 724). Al-Naṣrī's governorship of al-Madīnah lasted a year and
[1472] eight months.

In it, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik[34] led the summer campaign (against the Byzantines).

In it al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik[35] campaigned against al-Lān.[36] He made peace with the populace, whereupon they handed over the *jizyah*.[37]

Also in this year, 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī[38] was born in Rajab (November 22–December 21, 724).

34. Hishām's half-brother, killed by the 'Abbāsids 132(750). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 89; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 165.

35. Another half-brother of Hishām. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 89; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 165.

36. A Christian land in the North Caucasus near the pass of Derbent by the Caspian Sea. See *EI*², s.v. Alān, al-Ḳabḳ.

37. Tribute taken from non-Muslims. See *EI*², s.v. Djizya.

38. 'Abd al-Ṣamad was the half-brother of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the 'Abbāsid imām, by a concubine. Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 29.

The Pilgrimage of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik

In this year, the imām Ṭā'ūs,[39] the mawlā of Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī, died at Mecca. Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar[40] also died. Hishām led the prayers over them. Ṭā'ūs's death was at Mecca and that of Sālim at al-Madīnah.

According to al-Ḥārith[41] —Ibn Saʿd—Muhammad b. ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah: Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh died in the year 105 at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (about May 28, 724). Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the prayer over him at al-Baqīʿ.[42] There I saw al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr[43] sitting at the grave when Hishām approached wearing only a loose-fitting robe. He stopped before al-Qāsim to greet him, and al-Qāsim rose to meet him. Hishām asked him, "How are you, Abū Muḥammad? How is your health?" Al-Qāsim answered, "Fine." Hishām said, "I wish, by God, that He make you (all) well." Noticing that the people were many, Hishām levied from them a draft of four thousand (men for military service). Therefore, this year became known as the Year of the Four Thousand.

In it, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām entrusted Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥi[44] with the judiciary (at al-Madīnah), then replaced him with al-Ṣalt al-Kindī.[45]

In this year, the fight occurred between the Muḍar on the one hand and the Yaman and the Rabīʿah on the other at al-Barūqān[46] near Balkh.

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39. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥman Ṭā'ūs b. Kaysān al-Jundī, the Ḥijāzī jurist, also said to have died 101(720). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 8–10.

40. Abū ʿUmar, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's grandson, Medinese scholar. Also said to have died in 105(723), 107(725) or 108(726). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 436–8.

41. That is, al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad.

42. Famous Muslim cemetery at al-Madīnah in which many of the Prophet's companions are buried. See *EI*², s.v. Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad.

43. The Caliph Abū Bakr's grandson and Madinan scholar born before 38(658), died between 101(720) and 112(730). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 333–5.

44. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 24, II, 424; Wakīʿ, *al-Quḍāh*, I, 168–9.

45. He is al-Ṣalt b. Zubayd b. al-Ṣalt b. Maʿdīkarib b. Walīʿah, the ḥalīf of the Banū Jumaḥ. See Wakīʿ, *al-Quḍāh*, I, 169–70. His complete *nasab* may be derived from Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 239.

46. A village about six miles from Balkh, possibly center of Muslim army camp at this time, after destruction of Balkh by Qutaybah a few years earlier. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 405; *EI*², s.v. Asad b. ʿAbdallāh and Balkh; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 77, 189.

[1473] ## *The Reason for the Fight at al-Barūqān*

According to what has been reported, the reason for it was that when Muslim b. Saʿīd[47] went out to cross the Oxus to raid the enemy, many of the people delayed in joining him, among them al-Bakhtarī b. Dirham.[48] When Muslim reached the Oxus, he sent back to Balkh Naṣr b. Sayyār,[49] Salīm b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim,[50] Balʿāʾ b. Mujāhid b. Balʿāʾ al-ʿAnbarī, Abū Ḥafṣ b. Wāʾil al-Ḥanẓalī,[51] ʿUqbah b. Shihāb al-Māzinī, and Sālim b. Dhuʾābah, making Naṣr b. Sayyār their overall commander and ordering him to get the people (to come) out (of Balkh) to join him. Therefore, Naṣr burned down the door of al-Bakhtarī and Ziyād b. Ṭarīf al-Bāhilī, but ʿAmr b. Muslim,[52] who was in charge of Balkh, prevented Naṣr's forces from entering the city.

Muslim b. Saʿīd crossed the Oxus anyway, while Naṣr camped at al-Barūqān. While there, he was joined by the forces of Ṣaghāniyān,[53] which included Maslamah al-ʿUqfānī[54] of the Banū Tamīm and Ḥassān b. Khālid al-Asadī, each of whom had five hundred men, and also Sinān al-Aʿrābī,[55] Zurʿah b. ʿAlqamah,[56] Salamah b. Aws, and al-Ḥajjāj b. Hārūn al-Numayrī,[57] with his household. Meanwhile, (the forces of) the Bakr and the Azd gath-

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47. Muslim b. Saʿīd b. Aslam b. Zurʿah al-Kilābī, governor of Khurāsān 104(722)–106(724). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 286–287; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 356.

48. Or Ibn Abī Dirham, of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. ʿUbād b. Ḍubayʿah b. Qays b. Thaʿlabah, a branch of the Bakr b. Wāʾil. See Ṭabarī III/2, 1475, 1498.

49. Abū Layth al-Laythī ca. 46(666)–131(748), the great Muḍarī warrior and governor of Khurāsān 120(738)–131(748). *EI*[1], s.v. Naṣr b. Saiyār.

50. Al-Sulamī, grandson of the famous governor Ibn Khāzim. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 262.

51. Probably Abū Ḥafṣ ʿAlī b. Wāʾil of the Rabīʿah b. Ḥanẓalah of the Tamīm, father-in-law to Naṣr b. Sayyār. See Ṭabarī III/2, 1664, 1860.

52. Abū Qays al-Bāhilī, died 120/738, pro-Yaman brother of Qutaybah b. Muslim. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 246; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 519.

53. Hephthalite principality in the valley of the Chaghān Rūd directly north of al-Tirmidh. Its ancient capital of the same name is now Denaw in Soviet Uzbekistan. See *EI*[2], s.v. Caghāniyān and Caghān-Rūd.

54. Of a very small branch of the Yarbūʿ. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 145.

55. Al-Sulamī. A former supporter of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim, he was still active in 128(746) for the Muḍar party. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1163, III/2, 1583, 1595, 1929.

56. Al-Sulamī. At al-Tirmidh with Mūsā in 85(704). See Ṭabarī II/2, 1163.

57. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Hārūn b. Mālik b. Sāriyah, of an important Qaysite family with Syrian connections. See Ṭabarī III/2, 1723.

ered at al-Barūqān under al-Bakhtarī, who camped half a *farsakh*[58] away from Naṣr's forces. Naṣr sent to the people of Balkh saying, "You've taken your stipends; therefore, go join your commander who has already crossed the Oxus!" Thereupon the Muḍar came out to Naṣr, while the Rabī'ah and the Azd joined 'Amr b. Muslim. Some of the Rabī'ah said, "Muslim b. Sa'īd intends to revolt and (thus) is forcing us to go forward." At this point, the Taghlib[59] communicated with 'Amr b. Muslim saying, "You are one of us," and they recited for him a poem which traced back the origin of Bāhilah to Taghlib. (Likewise,) the Banū Qutaybah who were of Bāhilah, said, "We are (descended) from Taghlib." But the Bakr[60] disliked that those should be from the Taghlib, who would thereby become too numerous, and one of them expressed this, saying:

The Qutaybah claim that they are (descended) from Wā'il[61]
A genealogy far-removed indeed, Qutaybah, (just try to) climb.

It has been said that the Banū Ma'n of the Azd are called the Bāhilah. [1474]

According to Sharīk b. Abī Qaylah al-Ma'nī: 'Amr b. Muslim used to say, while attending the tribal councils of the Banū Ma'n, "If we are not from you, then we are not Arabs." When a Taghlibī traced him back (genealogically) to the Banū Taghlib, 'Amr b. Muslim said, "As for a blood relationship, I don't know of any, but as for protection, I will protect you!"[62]

'Amr sent al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim[63] and Yazīd b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḥuddānī to speak to Naṣr and plead with him, but he would have none of it. Thus the troops of 'Amr b. Muslim and al-Bakhtarī attacked Naṣr's forces, shouting "O for the Bakr!" However, they were repulsed and Naṣr returned the attack against them. The first to be slain was a Bāhilī. 'Amr b. Muslim, (as commander, now) had with him al-Bakhtarī and Ziyād b. Ṭarīf al-Bāhilī. Besides those

58. About 5.95 km or 3.7 mi. See *EI*², s.v. Farsakh.
59. A branch of the Rabī'ah.
60. The other large branch of the Rabī'ah.
61. The mutual parent of the Bakr and the Taghlib.
62. On the Bāhilah's complex connections, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 244–5; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 271; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, III, 161; *EI*², s.v. Bāhila.
63. Abū al-Qāsim, of the Banū 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl, a Muḍarī group, he was a jurist at Balkh. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 453–4; Ibn Qutaybah *Ma'ārif*, 457.

slain in flight, eighteen of 'Amr's troops were killed in the clash, including Kardān, brother of al-Furāfiṣah, Mas'adah, and a man
[1475] from the Bakr b. Wā'il called Isḥāq. 'Amr b. Muslim, defeated, was driven back into his fortress.

At this juncture, 'Amr sent to Naṣr (asking), "Send to me Bal'ā' b. Mujāhid." When the latter came, 'Amr said (to him), "Get me a guarantee of safe-conduct from Naṣr." Naṣr complied but said, "If only I would not have made the Bakr b. Wā'il maliciously delighted by it, I would have killed you."

It is said: 'Amr b. Muslim was captured in a mill and taken with a rope around his neck to Naṣr, who granted him safety and said to him as well as to Ziyād b. Ṭarīf and al-Bakhtarī b. Dirham, "Go join your commander."[64]

It is said: Rather Naṣr and 'Amr met at al-Barūqān, and thirty of the Bakr b. Wā'il and of the Yaman were killed. Whereupon the Bakr said, "Why should we fight our brothers and our commander, when we have ascribed a blood relationship (with ourselves) to this man, but he has denied it?" Then they stood aside, while the Azd fought on (alone), were beaten, and fled to a fortress which Naṣr thereupon laid siege to. After this, 'Amr b. Muslim, al-Bakhtarī, who was one of the Banū 'Ubād, and Ziyād b. Ṭarīf al-Bāhilī were taken, each of whom Naṣr gave a hundred lashes and then shaved their heads and beards and dressed them in hair cloth. It is said that al-Bakhtarī was taken in a thicket which he had entered, after which Naṣr said about the day of al-Barūqān:

I see the eye is stormy, running with tears, but that which
 Answers it is not running with tears.
I am not slow when war rolls up its sleeves (for action),
[1476] Its fire burning in the side of the armies,
But I call upon the Khindif[65] whose
 Backbone rises up eagerly to (bear) a heavy burden.
The Bakr did not keep their alliance there;
 Now they have on them the shame of (betraying) the
 Qays as well as their (new) shame.

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64. That is, Muslim b. Sa'īd, who had already crossed the Oxus.

65. Khindif, the wife of Ilyās b. Muḍar to whom his descendants are usually traced back. The Khindif, including the Quraysh, Kinānah and Tamīm, among others, is one half of the Muḍar, the other half being the Qays 'Aylān. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 10.

Even if the Bakr in Iraq acknowledge their being part of Nizār,
In the land of Marw are found their weak ones and their deviation.
They tried on the day of al-Barūqān a fight
In which the Khindif were victorious, while destruction came upon the Bakr,
I have heard news of a victory of the Qays over the Bajīlah
And that was long awaited before today.

This last verse means when Yūsuf b. 'Umar seized Khālid and his sons.[66]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Walīd b. Muslim: 'Amr b. Muslim, having fought and defeated Naṣr b. Sayyār, said to a man of the Banū Tamīm who was with him, "What do you think of the buttocks of your people (showing in flight), O brother of the Banū Tamīm?" thus mocking him for their defeat. But the Tamīm came back, defeating 'Amr's forces. When the dust had cleared, revealing Bal'ā' b. Mujāhid leading a group of the Banū Tamīm driving 'Amr's forces (before him), the Tamīmī said to 'Amr, "These are the buttocks of my people!"

Thus, 'Amr was defeated. Bal'ā' ordered his men, "Do not kill the prisoners, but strip them and cut out holes in the rear of their [1477] trousers," and so they did. Bayān al-'Anbarī said this, mentioning their fight at al-Barūqān:

While I was at the city, I heard news of a battle
Which the Tamīm won that shook everything most severely.
The eyes of the spotted ones, the Bakr b. Wā'il, continue
To weep when mention is made of those slain at al-Barūqān.
They delivered 'Amr b. Muslim over to death
And scattered in flight while the spearheads were bleeding.
There was ever a custom for (their) young men in war,
And they did not persevere where the spears were broken.

In this year Muslim b. Sa'īd attacked the Turks. After he had crossed the Oxus to fight them, (news of) his removal from (the

66. This happened in 126(743), thus dating the poem twenty years after al-Barūqān. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1821–2.

governorship of) Khurāsān and the appointment of Asad b. ʿAbdallāh[67] to it reached him from Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh.

Muslim b. Saʿīd's Campaign (the Day of Thirst)

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Muslim campaigned in this year. Speaking to the people in Maydān Yazīd, he said, "I am not leaving behind anything more worrisome to me than a group of people who stay behind, with perfumed necks, leaping from behind walls on the women of those out fighting for their faith. O God, deal with them and deal with them again! I
[1478] have ordered Naṣr to slay every malingerer that he finds. I will not pity them on account of any torment which God sends down upon them," meaning ʿAmr b. Muslim and his companions.

When Muslim got to Bukhārā, he received a letter from Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, informing him that he had been made governor of Iraq. But Khālid had written, "Complete your campaign"; therefore, Muslim marched toward Farghānah. At this point, Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Rawāḥī, one of the Banū Rawāḥah from the Banū ʿAbs, who are numbered among the Azd[68] —he attended to the account of the military roll—declared that no one who stayed behind this year would be held disobedient. At that, four thousand stayed behind, while Muslim b. Saʿīd went forth.

When Muslim got to Farghānah, he heard that the Khāqān[69] had drawn near him. Shumayl or Shubayl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Māzinī came to him and reported, "I have seen the Khāqān's troops in such and such a place." Thereupon Muslim sent to ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Kirmānī, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym,[70] commanding him to prepare to march out. When it was

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67. The brother of Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh, governor of Iraq and the East. See *EI*², s.v. Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh.

68. The ʿAbs would normally belong to the Qays, but in Khurāsān and perhaps elsewhere they became part of the Azd. Such switches, usually involving a changed genealogy, were quite common. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 114–5.

69. The khān or king of the Turgesh or Western Turks. In this case and for most of Hishām's reign he was Sū-Lū (717–737/8). Barthold, *Turkestan*, 187; *EI*², s.v. Khāḳān.

70. This man, a mawlā of Iranian origin, is apparently the same as Qutaybah b. Muslim's financial officer in Khwārizm in 93(712) and was in charge of supplies and disbursements for the army in 112(730). Ṭabarī, II/2, 1253, III/2, 1544, 1548–9, 1551. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 287.

morning, he set out with the troops and covered three days' journeying in a day. Then the next day he went on till he crossed Wādī al-Subūḥ.[71] The Khāqān drew near them, as horsemen rallied to him from all directions. At this, 'Abdallāh b.Abī 'Abdallāh had a group of lesser tribal commanders and clients set up camp. The Turks attacked those whom 'Abdallāh had stationed at that place and killed them, while seizing pack animals belonging to Muslim. Al-Musayyab b. Bishr al-Riyāḥī, al-Barā', who was one of al-Muhallab's cavalrymen, and Ghūrak's[72] brother were slain, but the men became aroused facing the Turks and drove them from their encampment. Muslim gave the battle standard to 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī[73] and departed with the men. Thereafter they [1479] travelled (continuously) for eight days while the Turks surrounded them. When the ninth evening came, Muslim wished to camp; therefore, he consulted the men, who advised him to camp, saying, "In the morning we will go straight to the water, which is not far away, but if you camp on the meadow, the men will split up (foraging) for fruit and your camp will be plundered." Muslim then asked Abū al-'Alā' Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr,[74] "O Abū al-'Alā', what do you think?" He answered, "I agree with the others." So they pitched camp.

However, no structures were raised inside the camp, and the men burned all the heavy vessels and baggage, to the value of one million (dirhams). In the morning, they went on until they came to the water, but there, before the river, were the forces of Farghānah and al-Shāsh.[75] Muslim b. Sa'īd thereupon declared, "I urge every man to unsheathe his sword," and so they did, the whole place becoming swords. Then the Turks left the water and

71. Exact location unknown, but apparently beyond the Jaxartes.

72. The Sughdī prince of Samarqand, ruled ca. 92(711)–ca. 120(738). See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 72, 79.

73. Of one of the noblest houses of the Tamīm, commander of the Tamīmī division of the army in 112(730) and possibly here. His home was in Jūzjān in Lower Ṭukhāristān, and his career extended from 91(710) to 128(746) or 129(747). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 220; Ṭabarī, II/2, 1218, III/2, 1535, 1921, 1971.

74. Ibn Abjar, al-Abānī al-Tamīmī. Entered Khurāsān 102(721), slain by Turks 112(730). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 229; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rikh*, 505; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1418, 1541.

75. The district northwest of Farghānah on the north bank of the Jaxartes, modern Tashkent. These forces were, of course, hostile to the Muslims. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 169–75; *EI*[1], s.v. Tashkent.

the Muslims crossed. Muslim stayed a day and then departed on the next day. A son of the Khāqān followed them.

Ḥumayd b. ʿAbdallāh, the commander of the rear, sent to Muslim saying, "Stop an hour so that I can fight the two hundred Turks who are behind me," although he was suffering from a wound. Thereupon the troops stopped, while Ḥumayd turned back against the Turks, taking captive the men of al-Sughd,[76] their commander and the commander of the Turks with seven (men), while the rest fled. Ḥumayd went on, but was hit by an arrow in the knee and died.

[1480] The men thirsted. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al-Ghāmidī[77] was carrying twenty waterskins on his camels, and when he saw how the men suffered, he brought them forth and they drank a swallow. Also Muslim b. Saʿīd asked for water on the Day of Thirst; they brought him a vessel, but Jābir or Ḥārithah b. Kathīr, brother of Sulaymān b. Kathīr,[78] grabbed it away from his mouth. At this, Muslim said, "Let him go, for were it not for the heat he wouldn't have fought with me for my drink."

When at last they reached Khujandah[79] suffering from hunger and exhaustion, the troops spread out in disorder. Suddenly two horsemen (appeared) asking for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym. They had brought him his appointment as (temporary) governor of Khurāsān from Asad b. ʿAbdallāh. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān made Muslim read it, at which Muslim said, "I heed and obey."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the first to use tents in the desert of Āmul.[80]

The richest of the troops on the Day of Thirst was Isḥāq b.

76. Ancient Sogdiana, the district of Samarqand. See *EI*[1], s.v. Soghd.

77. Text: *al-ʿĀmirī*; read: *al-Ghāmidī*. His patronymic is Abū Zuhayr. A well-known Yamanī, formerly governor of Khurāsān for ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 100(719)–102(721). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 378; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1357.

78. He is only known from this passage, but his brother Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī d. 133(750) was the leader of the secret Hāshimite movement's Khurāsānī supporters. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 242.

79. An ancient town at the entrance to the Farghānah valley and just south of the Jaxartes. Now Leninabad in Tajikistan. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 164–5; *EI*[2], s.v. Khujand.

80. Āmul, modern Charjuy in Turkmenistan, was the main crossing point on the Oxus between Marw and Bukhārā. Mention of the desert of Āmul here seems not to relate to the expedition of 106(724). See *EI*[2], s.v. Āmul.

Muḥammad al-Ghudānī.[81]

Ḥājib al-Fīl[82] said to Thābit Quṭnah,[83] who is Thābit b. Ka'b:

We decide matters, but the Bakr do not witness them,
Being busy between the oars and the rudder.
People don't know anything about him except his piece of cotton;[84]
Except for it, his ancestors are unknown.

'Abd al-Raḥmān had these sons: Nu'aym, Shadīd, 'Abd al-Salām, Ibrāhīm and al-Miqdām,[85] the strongest of whom were Nu'aym and Shadīd.

When Muslim b. Sa'īd was removed, al-Khazraj al-Taghlibī said:
We fought the Turks, but they surrounded the Muslims until we [1481]
were sure we would perish. I looked at them and their faces had turned pale. Ḥawtharah b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥurr b. al-Ḥunayf b. Naṣr b. Yazīd b. Ja'wanah[86] attacked the Turks with four thousand troops, fought them for an hour and then retreated. But Naṣr b. Sayyār came up with thirty horsemen and fought them until he drove them out of their positions. At this, the entire force assaulted the Turks, who were defeated. This Ḥawtharah is the nephew of Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr.[87]

'Umar b. Hubayrah had said to Muslim b. Sa'īd at the time he made him governor of Khurāsān, "Let your chamberlain be one of the best of your mawālī for he is your tongue and spokesman.

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81. Nephew of Wakī' b. Ḥassān b. Qays b. Abī Sūd, the Tamīmī governor of Khurāsān 96(715)–97(716). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1513–4.

82. Ḥājib b. Dhubyān al-Māzinī, a Tamīmī tribal poet. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 211; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 50–52.

83. Abū al-'Alā'. A well-known Arab poet of al-Sughd, affiliated with the 'Atīk, the Muhallabīs' branch of the Azd, but the mention of the Bakr here coupled with Ḥājib al-Fīl's comments on Thābit's lack of genealogy make it possible that he was originally from the Bakr but was raised in status by his Muhallabī patrons to affiliation with their own tribe. This is not mentioned, though, by the sources, which say he was an Azdī or at least a client of the Azd. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 49–56.

84. His nickname, Quṭnah, was because he wore a piece of cotton as an eyepatch. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 49.

85. Text: *al-Miqdād*; read: *al-Miqdām*, as in Ṭabarī, III/2, 1607, 1609, 1830, 1923–4.

86. Al-'Anbarī, later the chief of the Tamīm, of noble lineage. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1582; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 208.

87. Famous Khurāsānī warrior. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 696–8, 1156–7, 1159, 1163.

Encourage[88] the commander of your guard to be faithful. Also take for yourself governors of excuse." Muslim asked, "What are governors of excuse?" 'Umar answered, "Command every town to choose for themselves. When they have chosen a man, appoint him. If he turns out well, it will be to your credit; if he turns out badly, it will be their fault, not yours, and you will be excused." After this, Muslim b. Sa'īd wrote Ibn Hubayrah to send Tawbah b. Abī Usayd, the mawlā of the Banū al-'Anbar.[89] Thereupon Ibn Hubayrah wrote to his governor in al-Baṣrah saying, "Send Tawbah b. Abī Usayd to me." He then sent Tawbah, who came. Tawbah was a handsome, striking man of fine bearing, and when he entered into Ibn Hubayrah's presence, the latter declared, "The like of this (man) should be appointed to office!" When he sent him to Muslim, Muslim said to him, "This is my ring, so do as you see
[1482] fit." Remaining with Muslim until Asad b. 'Abdallāh came, Tawbah wished to depart with Muslim, but Asad said to him, "Stay with me, because I need you more than Muslim does." Thus he stayed with Asad, treating the people well and softening his heart (towards them), while behaving kindly toward the troops, giving them their provisions.[90] Asad told him, "Make them swear to divorce [their wives] if any should stay behind from his expedition or put a substitute in his place." But Tawbah refused to do that and thus did not make them swear to divorce (their wives). After Tawbah, his successors made the soldiers swear such oaths. When 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh[91] came, he wished to make the troops swear to divorce (their wives), but they refused, saying, "We only swear by the oaths of Tawbah." They knew that (henceforth) as "the oaths of Tawbah."

88. Text: *ḥutt*; read: *ḥuthth*.

89. A Baṣran, his name is more probably Abū al-Muwarra' Tawbah b. Kaysān b. Abī al-Asad ca. 57(677)-131(749), born in al-Yamāmah to a Sijistānī Iranian father and Arab mother from the Banū Numayr. He was always in demand for his administrative skills. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 240–1; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 515.

90. That is, he was in charge of supplies and disbursements.

91. Al-Hilālī, governor of Khurāsān 116(734)–117(735). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 274; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1564, 1573.

The Pilgrimage of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (Cont'd.)

This year Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit,[92] —his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā [93] —Abū Ma'shar,[94] and likewise al-Wāqidī and others reported that, there being no difference between them.

According to al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī al-Zanād[95] —his father: Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to me before he entered al-Madīnah asking me to write the recommended rituals *(sunan)* of the pilgrimage for him, so I wrote them. Then Abū al-Zanād met Hishām. According to Abū al-Zanād: That day I was in a procession behind him, when Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān[96] encountered him, while Hishām was going along. Hishām got down for him and greeted him; then Sa'īd went to his side. Hishām called out, "Abū al-Zanād!" whereupon I advanced, going to his other side. Thereupon, I heard Sa'īd say, "O Commander of the Faithful, God has not ceased blessing the people of the [1483]
house of the Commander of the Faithful and helping his wronged Caliph![97] Nor have they stopped cursing Abū Turāb[98] in these good lands; likewise, the Commander of the Faithful ought to curse him in these good lands." But his talk was hard for Hishām to bear and wore heavy upon him. Then he said, "We did not come to revile anyone nor to curse him; we have come as pilgrims." At that, he cut short his speech and approached me saying, "O 'Abdallāh b. Dhakwān, have you finished what I wrote to you to be done?" I answered, "Yes." Abū Zanād added: That which I had witnessed him say before Hishām weighed heavily on Sa'īd, and I noticed he looked broken whenever he saw me.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah[99] spoke to

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92. Al-Jaḥdarī, of al-Baṣrah, alive 255(869). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 21.

93. Apparently Abū Ya'qūb Isḥāq b. 'Īsā b. Nujayḥ al-Baghdādī 140(757)–215(830). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 245.

94. Nujayḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī al-Sindī, a historian of Yamanite origin. Died 170(786). See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 291–2.

95. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Dhakwān 100(719)–174(790). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 170–2. For Abū al-Zanād himself, 64(684)–130(748). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 203–5.

96. Great-grandson of the third caliph 'Uthmān, also great-great-grandson of the first caliph Abū Bakr. Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 121.

97. That is, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

98. Pejorative nickname of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. See *EI*[2], s.v. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

99. Al-A'raj, the grandson of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Taymī (killed 36(656)). See

Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik while Hishām was standing after he had just worshiped in al-Ḥijr.[100] He said to him, "I ask you by God and by the sacredness of this house[101] and city[102] whose right you have gone forth to honor that you set right for me the injustice done to me." Hishām asked, "What injustice?" Ibrāhīm answered, "My house." Hishām then asked, "Where did you stand with the Commander of the Faithful ʿAbd al-Malik?" Ibrāhīm replied, "He wronged me." Hishām then asked, "And with al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik?" Ibrāhīm answered, "He wronged me." Again Hishām inquired, "And with Sulaymān?" Ibrāhīm returned, "He wronged me." The Caliph asked, "And with ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz?" Ibrāhīm answered, "May God have mercy on him, he gave it back to me, by God." Hishām then asked, "And with Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik?" Ibrāhīm replied, "He wronged me, by God. He took it from me after I had taken possession of it, and it is now in your hands." Hishām then said, "By God, if you could bear a beating, I would beat you!" Ibrāhīm said, "I can stand, by God, being struck with the sword or the whip!" Then Hishām went off, with al-Abrash[103] following him. Hishām asked al-Abrash, "O Abū
[1484] Mujāshiʿ, how did you hear this tongue?" He answered, "What an excellent tongue this is!" He added, "This is the Quraysh, whose tongue still shows up among the people in remnants that I have seen such as this."

Asad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī in Khurāsān

In this year Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī came as governor to Iraq. In the same year, Khālid appointed his brother Asad b. ʿAbdallāh as governor of Khurāsān. Asad came to his province while Muslim b. Saʿīd was still on his expedition in Farghānah. It has been reported about Asad that when he came to the Oxus to cross, al-Ashhab b.

Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 283–4, *for this story in more detail.*

100. A semicircular, partially enclosed space on the north side of the Kaʿbah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥidjr.

101. That is, the Kaʿbah.

102. That is, Mecca.

103. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, he is Saʿīd b. al-Walīd b. Bakr (ʿAbd ʿAmr) b. Jabalah; according to Ibn Ḥazm he is Saʿīd b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Qays b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd ʿAmr, Hishām's chief minister. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 289, II, 501; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 458.

'Ubayd al-Tamīmī, one of the Banū Ghālib[104] who was in charge of the ferry at Āmul, prevented him. Asad said to him, "Take me across." But al-Ashhab replied, "There is no way I can take you across, because I have been commanded not to do that." Asad then said, "Give him kind treatment and food," but al-Ashhab refused. Finally Asad said, "I am the (new) governor." At this al-Ashhab took him over. Asad then said (to his companions), "Mark this (man) so that we may give him a share in (guarding) our trust." Thus Asad crossed the Oxus and came to al-Sughd.

Asad camped in the fields of al-Sughd. In charge of the tax office at Samarqand was Hāni' b. Hāni'. The people came out to meet Asad, coming to the meadow where he was camped while he was sitting on a stone. This the people took as a good omen, saying, "A lion[105] on a rock; what this brings is good." Hāni' asked him, "Have you come as governor, so that we should do by you what we do by governors?" Asad answered, "Yes, I have come as governor." Then he called for lunch, which he had at the meadow. He said, "Who hurries along on his way when he has only fourteen dirhams? (It is said also that he said thirteen dirhams.) Yet here they are in my sleeve." Meanwhile, he would cry profusely, saying, "I am only a man like yourselves."

Then Asad mounted up and entered Samarqand, sending two men with the appointment of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym to com- [1485]
mand the army. The two men came to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym while he was in Wādī Afshīn in command of the rear guard, which consisted of mawālī[106] from the people of Samarqand and of the tribal regiments from the people of al-Kūfah. They asked after 'Abd al-Raḥmān and were told, "He is in the rear." They brought him his appointment and a letter about returning (from the expedition) and giving permission to the troops to do so. 'Abd al-

104. Of al-Barājim, a group of the 'Abd al-Qays that had entered the Tamīm and been enrolled in the subtribe of the 'Abdallāh b. Dārim. However, they called themselves the Rabī'ah b. Ḥanẓalah, which betrays their original association with the Rabī'ah, of which the 'Abd al-Qays are a part. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 222, 295–6.

105. *Asad* means "lion" in Arabic.

106. Plural of mawlā, which may be translated as client but really has a much wider meaning. Here it refers to those Sughdīs who had recently become Muslims but, not being Arabs, had to associate themselves with Arab tribes as their "clients" in order to serve in the army, whose organization was based on such tribal affiliations. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. w-l-y; *EI*[1], s.v. Mawlā.

Raḥmān read the letter and then brought it, together with his appointment, to Muslim, who said, "I heed and obey." At this, ʿAmr b. Hilāl al-Sadūsī—or it is said al-Taymī—stood up and whipped Muslim a couple of lashes for what he had done at al-Barūqān, while Ḥusayn b. ʿUthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥtafiz[107] reviled him, but ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym rebuked both of them.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his sources: They came to Asad when he was at Samarqand. Then Asad went off to Marw, removing Hāni' and appointing over Samarqand al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-ʿAmarraṭah al-Kindī[108] from the family of Ākil al-Murār.

While Yaʿqūb b. al-Qaʿqāʿ[109] was judge of Khurāsān, al-Janūb[110] who was the daughter of al-Qaʿqāʿ b. al-Aʿlam, the chief of the Azd, and (also) the wife of al-Ḥasan came to her husband, and he came out to meet her. The Turks had attacked the Muslims, and al-Ḥasan was told, "These Turks have come to you." They were seven thousand. Al-Ḥasan said, "They haven't come to us; rather, we have come to them, taken their country from them and en-
[1486] slaved them. By God, despite this I will most certainly bring you close upon them and tie the forelocks of your horses to the forelocks of their horses." Then he went out (to fight), but procrastinated until the Turks had raided and departed. Thus the people said, "He went out to his wife to meet her in a hurry, but he went out to the enemy procrastinating." Al-Ḥasan heard this; therefore, he spoke to the people saying, "You talk and criticize! O God, cut off their traces! Hurry up their destinies! Send harm down upon them! Take happiness away from them!" For this, the people cursed him inside themselves.

Al-Ḥasan's deputy when he went out against the Turks was Thābit Quṭnah. When he tried to give a sermon before the people, he faltered, saying, "Whoever obeys God and His messenger has gone astray." At this, he became confused and did not speak a word. When he had come down from the pulpit, he said:

107. Al-Muzanī, from a Qaysī subtribe associated with the Tamīm, at least in Khurāsān, where this family had been long established. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 201–2; Ṭabarī, II/2, 596, 696; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 511–3.

108. His father fought for the Shīʿite rebel Ḥujr b. ʿAdī against Muʿāwiyah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 427.

109. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Azdī. This family's subtribe is unknown. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 329–30, XI, 393–4.

110. Sister of the Yaʿqūb b. al-Qaʿqāʿ just mentioned.

Even if I am not a speaker among you, still I am certainly
A speaker with my sword when the clamor (of battle) is in earnest.

It was said to him then, "If only you had said this on the pulpit, you would have been (accounted) a speaker!" Ḥājib al-Fīl al-Yashkurī[111] said, criticizing his faltering:

O Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, you met with a misfortune
Of anxiety and choking, on (that) Friday.
You twisted your tongue when you wanted to speak with it,
Just as one who slips tumbles from a lofty peak.
When the eyes of people turned to you in public. [1487]
You began, on standing up, to swallow your saliva hard from worry.
As for the Qur'ān, you will never be guided to a single firm (verse)
Of the Qur'ān, nor will you ever be guided to success.

Governors

In this year, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī was born in Rajab (November 22–December 21, 724). The governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif this year was Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī. Over Iraq and Khurāsān was Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī. Khālid's official in charge of worship at al-Baṣrah was ʿUqbah b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā,[112] in charge of the guard there was Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd,[113] while the judiciary was given to Thumāmah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Anas.[114] Asad b. ʿAbdallāh ruled Khurāsān.

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111. This is a mistake, for Ḥājib was a Māzinī, not a Yashkurī. See note 82.

112. Al-Kalāʿī of the Banū Dhī al-Kalāʿ, a subtribe of the Ḥimyar. Also a Damascene. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 535, Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 434, 478.

113. Al-ʿAbdī from the ʿAbd al-Qays, whose most noted family at al-Baṣrah were descendents of al-Jārūd. See Crone, *Slaves* 115–6.

114. Grandson of Anas b. Mālik al-Anṣārī. See note 30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 28–9.

The
Events of the Year
107
(May 19, 725—May 7, 726)

Among these (events) was the Khārijite rebellion of 'Abbād al-Ru'aynī[115] in the Yaman. Yūsuf b. 'Umar[116] killed him, and all his companions were slain with him, three hundred in all.

In this year Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām[117] led the summer expedition. Maymūn b. Mihrān[118] commanded the Syrian army, crossing the sea until he reached Cyprus. The force which Hishām had ordered prepared during his pilgrimage in the year 106 went with the other
[1488] forces. This (new) force came in the year 107 on fixed stipends, half of them going out to fight and half staying behind. Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik[119] led the land attack.

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115. Of Dhū Ru'ayn, a large subtribe of Ḥimyar. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, this took place in 108(726) not in the Yaman but at or near al-Rayy. But apparently Ṭabarī is to be preferred here, as Yūsuf b. 'Umar was governor of the Yaman from 106(725). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 433–4; Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 495.

116. Al-Thaqafī, the cousin of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, governor of the Yaman 106(725)–120(738) and of Iraq and the East 120(738)–126(744), killed 127(745). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 267; *EI*[1], s.v. Yūsuf b. 'Omar.

117. The son of the Caliph by a concubine, he was a commander on the Byzantine front for much of his father's reign. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 168.

118. Abū Ayyūb al-Jazarī d. 117(735), a jurist born in al-Kūfah who flourished in al-Raqqah, near Hishām's residence. He is said to have been governor of al-Jazīrah for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; more probably he was in charge only of taxation and the judiciary. Anti-Shī'ite. No doubt of non-Arab origin. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 390–2; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 314–9.

119. The half-brother of Hishām, he was the son of a concubine, a great military

During the year, a severe plague occurred in Syria.

In it, Bukayr b. Māhān sent Abū 'Ikrimah, that is, Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq,[120] Muḥammad b. Khunays, and 'Ammār al-'Ubādī,[121] with a number of their party, including Ziyād, the maternal uncle of al-Walīd al-Azraq, to Khurāsān. A man from the Kindah then came to Asad b. 'Abdallāh and denounced them to him. Thereupon Abū 'Ikrimah, Muḥammad b. Khunays and most of their companions were brought to Asad, though 'Ammār escaped. Asad cut off the hands and feet of those he had captured and crucified them. At this, 'Ammār went back to Bukayr b. Māhān, telling him the news. Then Bukayr wrote about it to Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who wrote back, "Praise be to God Who has shown the truth of your words and your mission! But victims who will be slain yet remain among you."

Also, in this year Muslim b. Sa'īd was conveyed to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. Asad b. 'Abdallāh had treated Muslim kindly in Khurāsān: he tried neither to harm nor imprison him. When Muslim came (to Iraq), Ibn Hubayrah decided to flee, but Muslim forbade that, saying to him, "Those people have a better opinion of us than you [1489]
had of them."

Also, in this year Asad attacked the mountains of Namrūn, King of al-Gharshistān,[122] which are next to the mountains of al-Ṭālaqān.[123] Namrūn made peace with Asad and became a Muslim through him. Thus today they are mawālī of the Yaman.

In it, Asad attacked al-Ghūr,[124] which is the mountain region of Herat.

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commander famous for his siege of Constantinople 99(717)–100(718) and governor of Iraq 102(721)–103(722), in addition to his service under Hishām. See *EI*[1], s.v. Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik.

120. It would appear from this text that Abū 'Ikrimah al-Sarrāj and Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq are two different persons, but that is specifically refuted by Ṭabarī, III/2, 1358, and by *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 203. See note 10; also, Sharon, *Black Banners*, 136–7n.

121. Text: *al-'Abbādī*; read: *al-'Ubādī*. He seems most likely to have been a mawlā of the Banū 'Ubād b. Ḍubay'ah b. Qays b. Tha'labah of the Bakr, though other possibilities exist. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 109–11.

122. Or Gharchistān. The mountainous country northeast of Herat in northwest Afghanistan. *EI*[2], s.v. Ghardjistān.

123. Now the town of Qeyṣār in northwest Afghanistan. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭālaḳan; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 79.

124. The high, mountainous country of central Afghanistan. *EI*[2], s.v. Ghūr.

The Attack of Asad in This Campaign (to al-Ghūr)

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: When Asad attacked al-Ghūr, its people took their valuable possessions and hid them in a cave to which there was no path, but Asad ordered boxes to be prepared, put men in them, and lowered them with chains, thus bringing out what they could. Thābit Quṭnah said:

I see Asad responsible for excesses
By which kings, possessors of screening, are frightened.
He went high in the country around Marw with horses,
And you urge them on between (shouts of) 'go' and 'giddy-up,'
To Ghūrīn[125] where the hairy one[126] won possession
And came to fight with swords and spearpoints.
God guided us (there) by the slain whom you see
Crucified in the mouths of the ravines.
Battles did not leave to the lords of Kalb
Abuse, nor to the Banū Kilāb.[127]
He brought to them spoils and came back from them
With the best of what can be taken of spoils.
And he would, when he camped in the dwelling-place of a people,
Show them humiliating kinds of torment.
Did he not cause the mountains to be visited, the mountains of Mul',
Beneath which you see pieces of the clouds,
[1490] By a vast army which did not leave them even a fugitive,
And (did he not) punish them with burning punishment?

Mul' is in the mountains of Khuṭ,[128] where Mul'ī girdles are made.

In this year, Asad moved those of the soldiers who were living at al-Barūqān to Balkh, giving each one who had a dwelling at al-Barūqān a (new) dwelling equivalent to his former one. To each who did not have one, he assigned a dwelling as well. He intended

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125. The same as Ghūr.

126. Possibly an epithet for Asad as a lion, which is the meaning of his name.

127. The Kalb are a prominent Syrian tribe representing the Yaman; the Kilāb are a Syrian Qaysī tribe. Thus Asad's achievements cannot be belittled by Syrians of either tribal party. *EI*², s.v. Kalb b. Wabara, Kilāb b. Rabī'a.

128. Mountains near Balkh, hence precisely in Ghūr where the expedition took place. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 406.

to settle them according to their *akhmās*,[129] but he was warned that tribal quarrels would break out; therefore, he mixed them. To build the city of Balkh, he requisitioned a quota of workmen from each district according to the amount of its tax. He entrusted the construction of the city of Balkh to Barmak, the father of Khālid b. Barmak.[130] Al-Barūqān was the residence of the governors. Between al-Barūqān and Balkh are two *farsakhs*, and between the city and Nawbahār[131] about two *ghalwahs*.[132] Abū al-Barīd said about Asad's building the city of Balkh:

There has busied your heart—and passion is making you love—
 A white gazelle affectionate toward her calf at Ḥawmal.
She grazes on the first fruits of the thorn bush, her sides hanging loosely,
 A watered place to which no tame thing goes at night,
By the places where animals come in a winding gully, to which are inclined
 Cows which sway, their flanks adorning them.
In the blessed one that you have fortified,
 The weak is protected and the fearful settles down. [1491]
Therefore, I see (for) you in it what any good man has seen:
 A triumph, while the doors of heaven are pouring.[133]
There has come to you the name by which the insightful
 Is satisfied with you, because of what you, the kind one, has intended.
O best ruler to (ever) direct the affairs of subjects,
 I most certainly swear to the truth of my oath.
God has made it[134] safe by your work after
 Earthshaking events have been the terror of hearts.

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129. Sing. *khums*, lit. "fifth." The larger political- military groupings of the Arab tribes in al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān. They are the Ahl al-'Āliyah, the Tamīm, the Bakr, the 'Abd al-Qays, and the Azd. The Ahl al-Kūfah had by this time become a sixth *khums* in Khurāsān. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1290–1; 'Alī, *Tanẓīmāt*, 41–3.

130. This Barmak was the keeper of the Buddhist shrine of Nawbahār at Balkh. See *EI*², s.v. al-Barāmika.

131. The Buddhist shrine near Balkh. See note 130.

132. A measure equaling one-twenty-fourth of a *farsakh*. Ibn Rustah, *A'lāq*, 22.

133. Rain is seen as a blessing.

134. That is, Balkh.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām led the pilgrimage.

This is what I heard from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī, Hishām,[135] and others said likewise.

The governors of the major provinces in this year were the same as those whom we mentioned before in the year 106.

135. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib b. Bishr al-Kalbī, died 204(819) or 206(821), famous historian, genealogist, etc. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 108; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 268–71.

The
Events of the Year

108

(MAY 8, 726—APRIL 27, 727)

In it, the campaign of Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik occurred. He reached Qaysariyyah,[136] the Byzantine city near al-Jazīrah[137] and conquered it.

Also in it, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām campaigned and captured one of the Byzantine strongholds. [1492]

In it, Bukayr b. Māhān sent a group which included ʿAmmār al-ʿUbādī to Khurāsān. But a man denounced them to Asad b. ʿAbdallāh, who captured ʿAmmār and cut off his hands and legs, although his companions escaped. Coming to Bukayr b. Māhān, they gave him the news. He wrote about that to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who wrote in reply to the letter, "Praise be to God Who has shown your mission to be true and has rescued your party."

In it, a fire occured at Dābiq.[138]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ[139] —his

136. Caesarea Mazaca, capital of ancient Cappadocia, now Kayseri in central Turkey. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaysariyya; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 96.

137. The area of Mesopotamia northwest of Baghdad, now in Iraq, northeast Syria, and southern Turkey. See *EI*², s.v. al-Djazīra.

138. A town about 15 mi. from Aleppo near Aʿzāz, used as a mobilization point by the Banū Marwān for their summer campaigns against Byzantium. See *EI*², s.v. Dābiḳ.

139. The mawlā of the Banū ʿAdī of Quraysh, died 154/771, he was active as a

father:[140] The grazing land burned, even the animals and men burned.

Campaign of Asad in al-Khuttal

In it, Asad b. ʿAbdallāh campaigned in al-Khuttal.[141]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: The Khāqān came against Asad when the latter had [already] gone back to al-Quwādhiyān[142] and recrossed the Oxus, so that there was no fighting between them in that campaign.

According to Abū ʿUbaydah:[143] Rather, they defeated Asad and put him to shame, so that young boys sang:

You have come form Khuttalān.[144]
With a spoiled face you have come.

Al-Sabal[145] was fighting against him and brought in the Khāqān. Asad had pretended that he would winter in Surkh Darah.[146] Then Asad ordered the troops to depart and sent forth his standards,
[1493] going in one dark night to Surkh Darah. His men shouted, "God is the Greatest." Asad asked, "What's the matter with the men?" He was told, "This is their sign when they are going home." He then said to ʿUrwah the herald, "Announce that the amīr is heading for Ghūrīn." Thus he went on his way, and the Khāqān came when they had [already] gone off to Ghūrīn, Asad having recrossed the Oxus, so that neither he nor they met. Asad returned to Balkh. The poet said about that in praise of Asad:

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transmitter in al-Madīnah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 53–4.

140. The mawlā of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a very famous Medinese jurist, he died between 117(735) and 120(738). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 412–4.

141. Mountainous region centered south of the present Kulyab in Tajikistan. In the early eighth century A.D. it was an autonomous principality tributary to the Islamic empire. *EI*², s.v. Khuttalān.

142. Text: *al-Quwādiyān*; read *al-Quwādhiyān*, as Ms. O. The district to the east of Ṣaghāniyān and northeast of al-Tirmidh, modern Termez, in Tajikistan. In the early eighth century A.D., it was a small principality tributary to the Islamic empire. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 71–2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 439–40.

143. Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā al-Baṣrī, the mawlā of the Taym, d. 210(825), the great traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 246–8.

144. The same as al-Khuttal.

145. The ruler of al-Khuttal. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 9, 81–2.

146. An unidentified place in eastern Tajikistan.

I assigned[147] myself two thousand [men] from each *khums*,
From each heavily-armed, broad-fronted [division].

The Muslims went on to al-Ghūriyān,[148] whose people they fought for a day, withstanding them. A man among the pagans showed forth and stood before his comrades. He planted his spear in the ground and had suspended a green band [from his horse] as a mark. Salm b. Aḥwaz[149] was then standing with Naṣr b. Sayyār. Salm said to Naṣr, "I already know the view of Asad, but I am going to attack this lout [anyway]; perhaps I will kill him and Asad will be satisfied." Naṣr answered, "As you wish." So Salm attacked the enemy horseman, who did not even pull out his spear before Salm came over him and stabbed him, leaving him [lying] in front of his horse, scraping the ground with his leg. Then Salm returned, stopping to say to Naṣr, "I am going to make another attack." Then he charged until, when he came near them, a man of the enemy opposed him. They struck each other, and Salm killed his opponent. Then Salm returned, wounded. Naṣr said to Salm, "Wait here until I attack them." He charged until he was in the enemy's midst, where he slew two men, then came back wounded. Stopping [by Salm] he said, "Do you think what we have done will [1494]
please him, may God not please him?" Salm answered, "No, by God, I do not suppose so."

At this point the messenger of Asad came to the two of them saying, "The amīr says to you, 'I have taken note of your stance from today as well as your worthlessness to the Muslims, may God curse you!'" They replied, "Amen, if we come back again to the like of this." The two sides held each other off that day, then both fought again the next day. The pagans were soon defeated. The Muslims captured their camp and conquered the land, taking prisoners, captives and spoils.

But some say that Asad came back from al-Khuttal routed in the year 108. The people of Khurāsān said:

You have come from Khuttalān.

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147. Text: *nadaytu*; read: *nadabtu*, as in Ms. BM.

148. Another name for al-Ghūr. See note 124.

149. Al-Māzinī of the Tamīm, the chief of Naṣr b. Sayyār's *shurṭah* later, he was an inveterate Qaysī warrior who was slain by Abū Muslim in 130(748). Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 211–2.

With a spoiled face you have come.
Broken-spirited you have come back.

In the campaign in al-Khuttal, the troops were struck with a severe hunger. Asad sent forth a young servant[150] of his with two sheep, telling him, "Do not sell them for less than five hundred [dirhams]." When the boy was gone, Asad said, "No one will buy them except Ibn al-Shikhkhīr,"[151] who was at the outpost. Ibn al-Shikhkhīr, upon entering in the evening, found the two sheep in the market and bought them for five hundred [dirhams]. He slaughtered one of them [for himself] and sent the other to one of his brothers. When the boy came back to Asad and told him the story, Asad sent him one thousand dirhams.

Ibn al-Shikhkhīr is 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, the brother of Muṭarrif b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr al-Ḥarashī[152]

Pilgrimage and Officials

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām led the pilgrimage this year while he was governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca and al-Ṭā'if.

[1495] I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant —Isḥāq b. 'Īsā —Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidī said likewise.

The officials of the main cities in charges of worship, warfare, and the judiciary were the same in this year as in the preceding year, and we have already noted them before.

150. Or: Young man, boy, page, slave. Often ghulāms were formally slaves and made up a guard force exclusively loyal to their master. However, the word does not necessarily denote a slave. See *EI*², s.v. Ghulām.

151. The son of a companion of the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 288.

152. Abū 'Abdallāh, the well-known Baṣran jurist. Most probably he died 86(705)–87(706). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 173–4; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 382.

The Events of the Year 109

(April 28, 727—April 15, 728)

In it occurred the campaign of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUqbah b. Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī[153] leading the seaborne force. There was also campaign of Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām against Byzantine territory, where he took a fortress called Ṭībah.[154] However, a group from the people of Antioch who were with him suffered losses.

In it, ʿUmar b. Yazīd al-Usayyidī was killed. Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd slew him.

The Report about the Slaying of ʿUmar b. Yazīd al-Usayyidī

The reason for that, according to what has been reported, is that Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh witnessed (the prowess of) ʿUmar b. Yazīd at the time of the war with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab,[155] and thus Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik became impressed with him. Yazīd said, "This is the man of Iraq!" That angered Khālid, who therefore commanded [1496]
Mālik b. al-Mundhir, who was in charge of the security forces in

153. Of the Quraysh, the son of the original conqueror of North Africa and founder of Qayrawān. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 178.

154. Unidentified. Reading uncertain.

155. See note 25.

al-Baṣrah, to exalt 'Umar b. Yazīd and not disobey any command of his until he had made it known to the people. Then Mālik devoted himself to finding a pretext against him (by which) to kill him, and so he did. One day, when 'Abd al-A'lā b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir[156] was mentioned, Mālik slandered him, whereupon 'Umar b. Yazīd objected, "Do you slander the like of 'Abd al-A'lā!" Mālik then answered him rudely and beat him with whips, until he had slain him.

Campaign of Asad against al-Ghūr

This year Asad b. 'Abdallāh campaigned against Ghūrīn. Thābit Quṭnah said:

I see Asad[157] in war when it comes to him,
    And he fights the enemy; he wins and imposes.
He took al-Sabal's[158] land, of which the Khāqān is the guardian,
    Burning whatever resisted him and destroying.
Groups of the Turks came to you (from) what is between Kabul
    And Ghūrīn, for they did not escape from you by flight.
The enemies did not overwhelm a lion of the jungle,
    The father of ferocious beasts, whom they stirred up, but he turned on them pursuing,
A hairy one, as if saffron were upon his arm,
    Repulsive of countenance, he has grown teeth and proven (himself).
Was there no protection in the blessed fortress
[1497] For your troops, the coward dreading, while he instilled fear?
'Abdallāh[159] built for you a fortress that you inherited
    Long ago, if the old be reckoned, and begat a noble son.

In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed Khālid b. 'Abdallāh from Khurāsān and dismissed his brother Asad from it.

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156. Al-Qurashī, the son of the conqueror of Khurāsān, a noble Baṣran noted for his piety. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 95.
157. Or: a lion.
158. Full vocalization gives *al-Sabal*, but the last vowel has been omitted for the sake of the poetic meter.
159. Asad's father.

Hishām's Removal of Khālid and His Brother from Khurāsān

The reason for that was that Asad, the brother of Khālid, was so zealous for his tribal grouping that he alienated the people.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: Abū al-Barīd said to one of the Azd, "Let me go in to your fellow tribesman 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ;[160] commend me to him and tell him about me." At this he let him in. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ was then Asad's governor of Balkh. The Azdī said, "May God make the amīr prosper! This is Abū al-Barīd al-Bakrī, our brother and helper. He is the poet of the people of the East. He it is who says:

If the Azd break an alliance which was guaranteed
 In an earlier time by 'Abbād and Mas'ūd,
And Mālik and Suwayd,[161] (two) who guaranteed it together
 When swords were drawn against the Azd so fiercely
That they called to one another, 'May God give you a respite on the sidelines,'
 While (men's) skins were bleeding from the blows."

At this, Abū al-Barīd pulled the Azdī's hand, saying, "May God curse you as an intercessor!" (To the amīr he said,) "He lied, may God make you prosper! Rather I am he who says: [1498]

The Azd are our brothers; they are our allies.
 There is neither breach nor alteration between us."

The amīr replied, "You have told the truth," and laughed. Abū al-Barīd is from the Banū 'Ilbā' b. Shaybān b. Dhuhl b. Tha'labah.

Asad was zealously partisan against Naṣr b. Sayyār and a group with him of the Muḍar. He beat them with whips on a Friday and said in his sermon: "May God disfigure these faces, the faces of the adherents of dissension, hypocrisy, disturbance, and corruption! O God, separate me from them and take me out to my refuge and my

160. Al-Kharaqī, clearly also an Azdī, from the village of Kharaq in the Marw oasis. Ṭabarī, III/2, 1428, 1544. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 360.

161. These lines refer to the anti-Tamīm alliance during the tribal fighting in al-Baṣrah in the second civil war (*fitnah*) 64–5(684–5). The four men who guaranteed it are 'Abbād b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ma'nī of the Azd, Mālik b. Misma' al-Ḍubay'ī of the Bakr, and Suwayd b. Manjūf al-Sadūsī, also of the Bakr. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 325.

homeland! Few are those who would eagerly desire (to face) what is before me or to open their mouths when the Commander of the Faithful is my maternal uncle, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh is my brother, and I have twelve thousand Yamanī swords."

Then he came down from his pulpit. When he had led the Friday worship and the people had come into his audience and taken their seats, he drew out a document from beneath his bed and read it to the people. In it were mentioned Naṣr b. Sayyār, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī,[162] Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr al-Abānī of the Abān b. Dārim, and al-Bakhtarī b. Abī Dirham of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubād.[163] These he called and rebuked, reducing the group to misery.[164] Not one of them spoke. Then Sawrah spoke, mentioning his position, obedience and sincere intentions. He said that Asad ought not to accept the report of a prattling enemy; rather, he should bring them together with the one who accused them
[1499] falsely. Asad, however, did not accept his plea. Rather he ordered them to be stripped. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym was beaten. He was a pot-bellied man with thin hips and spindly legs; therefore, when he was beaten, he bent over and his long underpants began to slip from their place. A man from his family stood up, taking a Harawī[165] cloak of his own, and began to hold out his garment with his hand, while he looked at Asad, desiring that he give him permission to cover 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Asad signalled to him that he do so, whereupon the man approached and covered 'Abd al-Raḥmān. It is said that it was rather Abū Numaylah[166] who covered him, saying to him, "Cover yourself, Abū Zuhayr, for the amīr is a governor of good breeding."

It is also said: Rather Asad beat them in the corners of his reception hall. When he was done, he said," "Where is the he-goat of the Banū Ḥimmān?" This man had recently been punished by the amīr. He is 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Maslamah b. Yazīd b. Ḥujr b.

162. See note 77.

163. Asad's four victims represent all the great tribal groupings or army divisions or *akhmās* of Khurāsān: the Ahl al-'Āliyah, Azd, Tamīm, and Bakr, thus refuting the statement that their punishment was a case of Asad's tribal partisanship.

164. Text: *fa'azam*; read: *fa'aram*, as in Codd.

165. Of Herat.

166. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Abbār, the mawlā of the 'Abs, who were associated with the Yaman in Khurāsān. He was a minor Khurāsānī poet and also a supporter of the 'Alid rebel Yaḥyā b. Zayd in 125(743). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1692–3, 1723–5; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 129.

Khaysaq b. Ḥimmān b. Ka'b b. Sa'd. Asad is said to have shaven them after the beating. Turning them over to 'Abd Rabbihi b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, one of his guards, and to 'Īsā b. Abī Burayq, he then sent them to Khālid. Asad wrote to Khālid, "These men intended to overthrow me." As often as the hair of any of them grew out, Ibn Abī Burayq would shave it off. Al-Bakhtarī b. Abī Dirham would say, "I would like it if he would beat me for a month along with this one," meaning Naṣr b. Sayyār, owing to what had happened between them at al-Barūqān. The Banū Tamīm sent a message to Naṣr (saying), "If you wish, we [1500] will rescue you from them," but Naṣr prevented them. When they were brought before Khālid, he blamed and rebuked Asad, saying, "Could you not have sent their heads?" 'Arfajah al-Tamīmī[167] said:

How is it that all the supporters of the Caliph
    Are in trouble while the enemies of the Caliph are left
    free?
I wept, my tears uncontrolled, as was right for me to do,
    While Naṣr, war's meteor, was bound in manacles.

Naṣr said:

She has sent (me) reproach for no fault;
    In a letter Umm Tamīm[168] puts forth blame.
If I am shackled as a prisoner before them
    In worry, anxiety and graveness,
The hostage of the Qasr,[169] you will not find any affliction
    Like the captivity of honorable men by a wicked one.
Tell those who claim they belong to the Qasr, the Qasr
    Being the possessors of a spearshaft having cracks:
Have you been weaned from betrayal and treachery,
    Or are you like the perpetually unjust?

Al-Farazdaq[170] said:

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167. Al-Dārimī, a minor poet apparently from Ṭukhāristān. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1525–6.

168. Al-Marzubānah bt. Qudayd b. Manī' al-Minqarī of the Tamīm, of a noble Tamīmī lineage, the wife of Naṣr and the mother of at least six of his sons. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS Istanbul, II, 706–7.

169. Or: compulsion, the meaning of the word in Arabic, an obvious play on words.

170. The nickname of Hammām b. Ghālib al-Mujāshi'ī, the great Tamīmī poet

Khālid, isn't it that, if not for God, you would not have
been obeyed,
And if not for the Banū Marwān you would not have
shackled Naṣr?
Therefore you would have met, had his shackles not been
tightly bound,
The sons of war, neither unarmed in the meeting nor
worried.

Asad b. 'Abdallāh spoke from the pulpit in Balkh, saying in his sermon, "O people of Balkh, you have nicknamed me the Raven, and by God I will most certainly send your hearts astray."[171] Thus,
[1501] when Asad had become zealously partisan and alienated the people by his partisanship, Hishām wrote to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, "Remove your brother." Thereupon he dismissed him but asked permission for him to make the pilgrimage. Thus Asad came back to Iraq, bringing with him the *dihqāns*[172] of Khurāsān, in the month of Ramaḍān (December 20-January 18 of the year 109). Asad left as his deputy in charge of Khurāsān al-Ḥakam b. 'Awānah al-Kalbī.[173] Al-Ḥakam stayed a summer campaigning season but did not go out to fight.

'Abbāsid Missionaries in Khurāsān

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: The first missionary of the Banū al-'Abbās to come to Khurāsān was Ziyād Abū Muḥammad, the mawlā of the Hamdān. He was sent forth in the first governorship of Asad b. 'Abdallāh by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, who told him, "Call the people to us, stay among the Yaman, and treat the Muḍar gently." He also warned him to avoid a man from Abrashahr[174] called Ghālib[175] because of his excessive

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of the Umayyad court. See *EI*², s.v. al- Farazdaḳ.

171. The verb "to send astray" (*uzīghanna*) here is a play on the nickname Raven (*zāgh*), as well as an allusion to Qur'ān 61:5.

172. Sing. *dihqān*. The class of native Iranian nobles and landlords. See *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān.

173. Of Syrian origin, he was later governor of Sind. See *EI*², s.v. 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī.

174. That is, Naysābūr or Nīshāpūr, still today an important city of Iranian Khurāsān. See *EI*², s.v. Nīshāpūr.

175. Apparently a supporter of the 'Alid Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. See

feeling for the descendants of Fāṭimah.[176]

It is said that the first to bring a message to Khurāsān from Muḥammad b. 'Alī was Ḥarb b. 'Uthmān, the mawlā of the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah of the inhabitants of Balkh.

When Ziyād Abū Muḥammad arrived, he summoned (people) to (the imāmate of) the Banū al-'Abbās, while mentioning the behavior of the Banū Marwān along with their oppression. He also began feeding the people. At this juncture, Ghālib came to him from Abrashahr. There was a struggle between them, Ghālib preferring the family of Abū Ṭālib while Ziyād favored the descendants of al-'Abbās. Ghālib having left him, Ziyād spent a winter in Marw. Among the inhabitants of Marw who used to visit him were Yaḥyā b. 'Aqīl al-Khuzā'ī and Ibrāhīm b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-'Adawī.

Suwayd al-Kātib was staying at Barzan[177] in the houses of the family of al-Ruqād[178] when al-Ḥasan b. Shaykh was in charge of finances for Marw. Suwayd told al-Ḥasan about the matter of Ziyād; al-Ḥasan then informed Asad b. 'Abdallāh about him. Asad sum- [1502]
monded Ziyād, who had with him a man with the patronymic Abū Mūsā. While looking at the latter, Asad said to him, "I know you." Abū Mūsā answered, "Yes." Asad said to him, "I saw you in a wine shop in Damascus." Abū Mūsā replied, "Yes." Asad asked Ziyād, "What is this which has reached me regarding you?" Ziyād answered, "Falsehood has been brought to you; I only came to Khurāsān to trade. I have given out my money among the people. When it comes back to me, I will leave." Asad said to him, "Leave my province (forthwith)." Therefore, Ziyād went away but later came back to his business (in Khurāsān). Al-Ḥasan then renewed (his warning to) Asad, giving him the impression that Ziyād was involved in something serious. Thus Asad sent for Ziyād, and when he looked upon him, he said, "Did I not forbid you from remaining in Khurāsān?" Ziyād responded, "O amīr, there is no harm to you from me." By this he enraged Asad, who ordered that they be killed. Abū Mūsā then said to him, "Decree whatever you will!"[179] Owing to this, Asad's wrath increased further, and he said

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Sharon, *Black Banners,* 148, 162–3, 171.

176. That is, the 'Alids.

177. A village in the Marw oasis. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam,* I, 382.

178. Descendants of al-Ruqād b. al-Mundhir al-Ḍabbī, of a subtribe associated with the Tamīm. See Ibn al- Kalbī, *Jamharah,* I, 89, II, 491.

179. Qur'ān 20:72.

to Abū Mūsā, "Have you made me the equal of Pharaoh?" Abū Mūsā replied, "I have not made you so, but God has!" Thus Ziyād and his companions were slain. They were ten from the noblest lineage of al-Kūfah. None were spared among them that day except two boys whom Asad considered too young. He ordered the rest to be killed at Kushānshāh.[180]

Some say that Asad ordered a line to be drawn around Ziyād's middle. Then he was stretched between two men and struck at, but the sword missed him, whereupon the people in the market shouted, "God is Greater!" Asad asked, "What is going on?" He was told, "The sword did not cut him." Asad then gave Abū Yaʿqūb a sword. He went out in long underwear, the people having gathered about Ziyād. Abū Yaʿqūb struck at him, but the sword missed. Then he struck again and cut him in two.

Others say that Asad offered clemency to them: whoever among them would recant what he had been accused of, he would let
[1503] him go. Eight among them rejected the (offer of clemency; two recanted. On the next day, one of the two came while Asad was in his audience chamber overlooking the market in the old city. He said, "Is this not our prisoner of yesterday?" The man came toward Asad saying, "I ask that you join me with my companions." They were overlooking the market with him while he was saying, "We are content with God as Lord, Islam as religion, and Muḥammad as Prophet." Asad called for the sword of the Bukhārā Khudhāh[181] and cut off the man's head four days before the Feast of Sacrifice.[182]

Then, after them, a man from the people of al-Kūfah named Kathīr[183] came. He stayed with Abū al-Najm.[184] Those who met Ziyād used to come to him (too). He would speak and preach to them, continuing to do so for a year or two. Kathīr was illiterate.

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180. An unidentified place in the Marw oasis.

181. The local ruler of the Bukhārā oasis, under the suzerainty of the Islamic state but partially autonomous. His name was Ṭughshādah, and he ruled from 91(710) to 121(739). See *EI*², s.v. Bukhārā.

182. Apparently, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 6, 109(March 23, 728). However, this conflicts with the version on p. 1501 above, which says Asad left Khurāsān in Ramaḍān 109(December 727–January 728).

183. Abū al-Ḥusayn Kathīr b. Saʿd. He was the chief Hāshimite missionary in Khurāsān ca. 108(726)–ca. 111(729). See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 166–7, 172, 184.

184. Abū al-Najm ʿImrān b. Ismāʿīl, the mawlā of the family of Abū Muʿayṭ al-Qurashī, one of the twelve ʿAbbāsid *nuqabāʾ* in Khurāsān and the father-in-law of Abū Muslim. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 155, 166, 192, 215.

Khidāsh[185] came to him while he was at a village called Mar'am.[186] He got the better of Kathīr. His name is said to have been 'Umārah, but he was called Khidāsh ecause he marred the faith.

Thābit Quṭnah's Anger at Asad

Asad, by having appointed 'Isā b. Shaddād al-Burjumī as the subgovernor of a certain district, had placed him over Thābit Quṭnah. Thābit as a result became angry and hence disparaged Asad, saying:

I see every people know their father,
While the father of Bajīlah wavers between them.
I found my father to be your father, so do not
Join against me with the enemy, clamoring.
I will shoot with my arrow whoever shoots at you with his arrow,
Whoever you attack being an enemy undeniable.
Asad b. 'Abdallāh, may his pardon be exalted,
Is a possessor of sins, then how can it be with one who has not sinned?
Have you made me a travelling bag for al-Burjumī,
While al-Burjumī is the base, unproductive one? [1504]
A slave: when noblemen contend together in a race, you see him
Coming along sluggishly, (as if) bearing (a burden) in a procession.
I take refuge with the tomb of Kurz[187] from being seen
As a subordinate of an unfruitful slave from the Tamīm.

185. 'Umārah or 'Ammār b. Yazīd. He was a native of the district of Naysābūr and founded a strong movement in Khurāsān that favored the 'Alids and threatened 'Abbāsid plans. He dominated the work of the *da'wah* in Khurāsān from 111(729) to his execution in 118(736). See *EI*², s.v. Khidāsh.

186. An unidentified place in the Marw oasis, perhaps rather to be transliterated M-r-gh-m, with vocalization undetermined.

187. Kurz b. 'Āmir b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, the great-great-grandfather of Asad b. 'Abdallāh. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 222, II, 374.

Ashras b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī Becomes Governor of Khurāsān

In this year, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Ashras b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī[188] governor of Khurāsān.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Dhayyāl al-ʿAdawī[189] and Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah[190]—Ṭarkhān[191] and Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī: Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik removed Asad b. ʿAbdallāh from Khurāsān, putting Ashras b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī in charge of it as governor (instead) and commanding him to correspond with Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī. Ashras was virtuous and benevolent; the Khurāsānīs used to call him "the Perfect" on account of his virtuous behavior towards them. Thus he went to Khurāsān. When he reached it, the people were delighted by his arrival. He put in charge of his security force ʿUmayrah Abū Umayyah al-Yashkurī, then removed him and appointed al-Simṭ. He entrusted the judiciary of Marw to Abū al-Mubārak al-Kindī,[192] who had no knowledge of judicial affairs. Because of this, Ashras consulted Muqātil b. Ḥayyān.[193] Muqātil advised him to appoint Muḥammad b. Zayd,[194] whom he then entrusted with the judiciary. He remained judge until Ashras was dismissed. Ashras was also the first to establish the mobile frontier force.[195] He put in command of the mobile frontier force ʿAbd al-Malik b. Dithār al-

188. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, II, 201.

189. Or Abū al-Walīd al-Hunayd b. Iyās b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān. From a family of Khurāsānī warriors and historical transmitters from the ʿAdī al-Ribāb, he may have witnessed the death of Qutaybah b. Muslim in 96(715). *Naqāʾiḍ*, 357.

190. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. ʿAmr al-Aslamī al-Khuzāʿī, the Ḥijāzī transmitter. See Ṭabarī, IV/1, 2128; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127.

191. Possibly Abū Ḥumayd, the mawlā of the family of Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt al-Khuzāʿī, of Baṣran connections. He must have been a contemporary of the Caliph Hishām. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 252.

192. Or: Abū al-Munāzil ʿUthmān b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥārith, the nephew of the famous Kūfan jurist Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 425.

193. Abū Muʿān or Abū Bisṭām al-Nabaṭī al-Balkhī, the mawlā of the Shaybān, a subtribe of the Bakr. He enjoyed a long career as a counselor of the amīrs of Khurāsān from at least 98(717) to 130(748), when he was resisting Abū Muslim in Ṭukhāristān, and died in exile in Kabul before 150(767). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 277–9; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1330, 1998.

194. He is Muḥammad b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. (Abī) al-Qamūṣ al-Kindī, also described as an ʿAbdī or a Jarmī. He is said to have been from al-Baṣrah, but in that case probably would not have been a Kindī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 173–4.

195. That is, a force of cavalry placed in frontier garrisons. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ribāṭ; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 189; Shaban, *ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, 110.

Bāhilī.[196] Ashras took charge of affairs both small and great personally.

When Ashras came to Khurāsān, the people shouted, "God is Greater," out of delight with him. One man said: [1505]

The All-Compassionate One has heard a people's shouts of
'God is Greater'
On the day that their imām came to them from the Sulaym.
An imām[197] of guidance has strengthened their commonwealth by
him,[198]
(A people who) were scrawny, their bones not marrowy.

When he came, he rode a donkey. Thus Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī[199] said to him, "O amīr, if you wish to be governor of Khurāsān, ride horses, hold tight the reins of your steed, and use the whip constantly on his flank so that he advances to the fire. Otherwise, go back!" Ashras answered, "Then I will go back, for I will not plunge into the fire, O Ḥayyān." Nevertheless, he stayed and rode horses.

According to 'Alī: Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn said, "I dreamt before Ashras came that someone said, 'There comes to you one harsh of heart, weak in helpers, ill-omened.' I awoke in alarm. The second night I dreamt, 'There comes to you one harsh of heart, weak of helpers, ill-omened, a traitor to his people, Jaghr.'"[200] Then he said:

An army is lost whose commander is Jaghr;
Is there a remedy before the tribes are crushed?
If (the enemy) were turned away from them by him he might be
(acceptable),
And if not they will become stories of a teller of Tales.

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196. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1420, 1423.

197. That is, the Caliph.

198. That is, Ashras.

199. Abū al-Hayyāj, the mawlā of Maṣqalah al-Shaybānī of the Bakr, adviser to the governors of Khurāsān. But his mention here must be a mistake, as he was poisoned on the orders of his last patron, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, in 102(721). Possibly the story related to Ḥayyān but is wrongly placed in time under Ashras; alternatively, it could relate to one of Ḥayyān's sons, perhaps Muqātil, who was just mentioned. See p. 1504 above. For Ḥayyān, see Ṭabarī, III/2, 1430–1; see also note 193.

200. A Persian word meaning "frog." See Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, s.v. jagr, chughr.

Ashras was called Jaghr in Khurāsān.

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām Leads the Pilgrimage

This year Ibrāhīm b. Hishām led the pilgrimage.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī and others said likewise.

According to al-Wāqidī: Ibrāhīm b. Hishām delivered the ser-
[1506] mon to the people at Minā[201] in this year on the day after the Day of Sacrifice[202] following the noon worship. He said, "Ask me, for I am the descendant of the unique one.[203] You will not ask one more knowing than me." Then a man from the people of Iraq stood up facing him and asked him about the sacrifices, as to whether they were required or not. Ibrāhīm did not know anything with which to answer him and hence came down (from the pulpit).

Governors

The Governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if in this year was Ibrāhīm b. Hishām. In charge of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah was Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh. In charge of worship at al-Baṣrah was Abān b. Ḍubārah al-Yazanī,[204] in charge of its security force was Bilāl b. Abī Burdah,[205] and in charge of its judiciary was Thumāmah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī, appointees of Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh. In charge of Khurāsān was Ashras b. ʿAbdallāh.

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201. The main camping site, to the northeast of Mecca, for pilgrims during the greater pilgrimage or ḥajj. See *EI*², s.v. Minā.

202. The Day of Sacrifice is Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10. The day after it here is Dhū al-Ḥijjah 11, 109 (March 28, 728). See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj.

203. A reference to Ibrāhīm's great-great-grandfather al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah, who is said to be referred to by this name (Ar. *waḥīd*) in Qur'ān 74:11.

204. Of the Dhū Yazan clan of the Ḥimyar. He was a Syrian from Ḥimṣ. See Crone, *Slaves*, 146.

205. Al-Ashʿarī, grandson of the famous governor of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah Abū Mūsā. See Crone, *Slaves*, 147.

The Events of the Year 110

(April 16, 728 - April 4, 729)

Among its events was the campaign of Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik against the Turks. He approached them near Bāb al-Lān[206] until he met the Khāqān with his hordes. They fought for nearly a month, while suffering from heavy rain. God defeated the Khāqān, who fled away. Thus Maslamah returned (homeward), going by way of the Mosque of Dhū al-Qarnayn.[207]

In this year, according to what has been reported, Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām campaigned against the Byzantines' territory, taking Ṣamāluh.[208] [1507]

In it, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUqbah al-Fihrī led the summer campaign. He was in charge of the seaborne force. But according to al-Wāqidī, it was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj[209] who was in

206. The pass in the central Caucasus between Alania (now North Ossetia) and Georgia, guarded by an impregnable fortress used by Maslamah in his campaign. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 246; *EI²*, s.v. Alān, al-Ḳabḳ.

207. An unidentified place in the Caucasus, but probably near Bāb al-Lān.

208. Or Ṣamālū, a fortified town of Cilicia near Ṭarsūs and al-Maṣṣīṣah. Probably the same as a Samalouos of the Byzantines. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 423; Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 278, 355.

209. Or b. Khadīj al-Sakūnī of the Kindah, the son of a famous companion of the Prophet and a great warrior of Egypt. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 429; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, II, 413.

charge.

In this year, Ashras[210] called the dhimmīs among the inhabitants of Samarqand and Transoxiana to Islam, stipulating that the *jizyah* would be removed from them. They accepted that, but when they became Muslims, Ashras nevertheless (continued to) impose the *jizyah* on them. Therefore they made war on him.

Ashras and the Affair of the People of Samarqand and Those Who Followed Them in It

It is stated that Ashras said while governor of Khurāsān, "Seek out for me a man possessing piety and excellence, that I may send him beyond the Oxus to call them to Islam." He was then advised to appoint Abū al-Ṣaydā' Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf, the mawlā of the Banū Ḍabbah.[211] But this man said, "I am not skillful in Persian"; therefore they attached to his service al-Rabī' b. 'Imrān al-Tamīmī.[212] Abū al-Ṣaydā' declared, "I am going forth on the condition that whoever becomes a Muslim will not have the *jizyah* taken from him, and thus only the *kharāj*[213] of Khurāsān will be on the heads of the men." Ashras said "Yes." Abū al-Ṣaydā' then said to his companions, "I am going forth. If the officials do not deal in good faith, will you help me against them?" They said, "Yes." Thus he
[1508] travelled to Samarqand, where al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-'Amarraṭah al-Kindī was in charge of both the military forces and the financial office.

Abū al-Ṣaydā' called on the people of Samarqand and its environs to become Muslims, stipulating that the *jizyah* would be removed from them. At this, the people hurried (to become Muslims). Therefore, Ghūrak wrote to Ashras saying, "The *kharāj* has

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210. Text: *al-Ashras*; read: *Ashras*.

211. In 100(719), this prominent fighter for the rights of the mawālī in Khurāsān even complained to the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz himself about their condition. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1353–4.

212. Of unknown connections. Crone's assertion that he may be a son of 'Imrān b. al-Faḍīl al-Burjumī is an unsupported speculation, as his names are common ones. See Crone, *Slaves*, 114.

213. Theoretically, the *jizyah* was the head tax on non-Muslims, while the *kharāj* was the land tax; but in practice these terms were often used loosely or interchangeably in early documents, as here. See *EI*², s.v. Kharādj; also, note 37. For an alternative view, that the terms were used with precision from the earliest times, defended in detail, see Kabīsī, *Aṣr Hishām*, 293–336.

fallen off drastically." Ashras then wrote to Ibn Abī al-'Amarraṭah saying, "In the *kharāj* there is power for the Muslims. I have heard that the inhabitants of al-Sughd and their likes have not become Muslims by (their own) desire, but rather they have only entered into Islam to escape the *jizyah*. Therefore, see who has been circumcised, performs the ritual obligations, practices his Islam rightly, and can recite a chapter from the Qur'ān. From him (alone) lift (the burden of) the *kharāj*."

Then Ashras dismissed Ibn Abī al-'Amarraṭah from the financial office, giving it (instead) to Hāni' b. Hāni', to whom he joined al-Ikhshīdh.[214] Ibn Abī al-'Amarraṭah said to Abū al-Ṣaydā', "I have nothing to do with the *kharāj* anymore, but beware of Hāni' and al-Ikhshīdh.[215] Therefore, Abū al-Ṣaydā' began forbidding them from taking the *jizyah* from whoever had become a Muslim. Hāni' wrote (to Ashras), "The people have become Muslims and built mosques." Then the *dihqāns* of Bukhārā came to Ashras to say, "Who will you take the *kharāj* from, now that all the people have become Arabs?" Ashras wrote back to Hāni' and to the (financial) officials, "Take the *kharāj* from whomever you used to take it from." Thus they brought back the *jizyah* upon those who had become Muslims.

At this, seven thousand of the inhabitants of al-Sughd refused (to pay) and seceded, setting up camp seven *farsakhs* from Samarqand. These went out to them to support them: Abū al-Ṣaydā', Rabī' b. 'Imrān al-Tamīmī, al-Qāsim al-Shaybānī,[216] Abū Fāṭimah al-Azdī,[217] Bishr b. Jurmūz al-Ḍabbī,[218] Khālid b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Hajarī,[219] Bishr b. Zunbūr al-Azdī, 'Āmir b. Qushayr or Bashīr al- [1509]
Khujandī, Bayān al-'Anbarī and Ismā'īl b. 'Uqbah.

Ashras removed Ibn Abī al-'Amarraṭah from the military command (as well), putting in his place al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-

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214. Text: *al-Ishhīdh*; read: *al-Ikhshīdh*. The title of Ghūrak as prince of Samarqand. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 93, 95, 185, 189–190.

215. Text: *al-Ishhīdh*; read: *al-Ikhshīdh*.

216. Of the Bakr, he was later a loyal follower of al- Ḥārith b. Surayj al-Tamīmī. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1584, 1868, 1923, 1932.

217. Also called al-Iyādī, but that is probably a copyist's mistake. No Iyādīs are known from Khurāsān, nor are any likely to have been there. See note 454.

218. Of the Tamīm, he was later a prominent follower of al- Ḥārith b. Surayj al-Tamīmī, and was slain with him 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1931–4.

219. Text: *'Abdallāh al-Naḥwī*; read: *'Ubaydallāh al-Hajarī*.

Sulamī,[220] joining to him ʿUmayrah b. Saʿd al-Shaybānī.

When al-Mujashshir arrived, he wrote to Abū al-Ṣaydā', asking that he come to him with his companions. When Abū al-Ṣaydā' and Thābit Quṭnah came, he imprisoned them both. Abū al-Ṣaydā' declared, "You have committed betrayal and gone back on what you said!" Hāni' answered him, "It is not betrayal as long as bloodshed is prevented by it." He transported Abū al-Ṣaydā' to Ashras[221] but kept Thābit Quṭnah in his own prison. When Abū al-Ṣaydā' was transported, his companions met and put Abū Fāṭimah in command in order that they might fight Hāni'. But Hāni' said to them, "Wait until I write to Ashras, so that we may get his opinion and act according to his command." Thus they wrote to Ashras. Then Ashras wrote, "Impose the *kharāj* upon them."

After this, Abū al-Ṣaydā''s followers went back (to their opposition), but their movement weakened, while their leaders were pursued, taken, and carried to Marw. Thābit remained imprisoned. Ashras appointed Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sarī, the mawlā of the Banū ʿUwāfah,[222] as a colleague for Hāni' b. Hāni' in charge of the *kharāj*. Hāni' and his agents pressed on with the collection of the *kharāj* insistently, treating the Iranian nobles with disregard. Al-Mujashshir gave ʿUmayrah b. Saʿd power over the *dihqāns*, who
[1510] were made to stand while their clothes were torn and their belts were tied around their necks. The agents also took the *jizyah* from those of the humble who had become Muslims. As a result, (the people of) al-Sughd and Bukhārā became apostates, calling upon the Turks to send an army (to support them).

Thābit Quṭnah stayed in al-Mujashshir's prison until Naṣr b. Sayyār came as governor with authority over al-Mujashshir and had Thābit taken by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī to Ashras, who imprisoned him. Naṣr b. Sayyār had treated Thābit kindly and well. Therefore Thābit Quṭnah, while imprisoned by Ashras,

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220. Abū al-ʿAdabbas. He enjoyed a long career as an important leader in Khurāsān at least from 91(710) to 141(758). He was the first cousin of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim through his aunt, who was Mūsā's mother, and like Mūsā hailed from the Banū Ḥarām b. Sammāl branch of the Sulaym. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1241, III/2, 1544, 1660, I/3, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 231, 238, 246.

221. Text: *al-Ashras*; read: *Ashras*.

222. A famous Iranian mawlā who had once been apppointed by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz himself to set up inns for travellers and who had been in charge of the *kharāj* of Transoxiana in 102(721). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1364, 1421, 1447–8.

praised Naṣr, saying:

What trench at a tent site and (what) stones have stirred up your longing,
And (what) traces which a downpour of rain has effaced?
Nothing is left of them nor of the stones marking their courtyard
Except broken fragments and except the fireplace
And a (lone) dweller in the encampments of the tribe, after they (have gone),
Like an exposed scout in his worn-out clothes.
The dwellings of Laylā are barren deserts with no friend in them
Nearer than al-Ḥujūn,[223] and how great is its distance from my dwelling!
I was given in exchange for her, when she had become too far to visit:
The valley of fear, in which no night traveler goes,
In the featureless desert, constantly, in a scorched and dry spot,
While a flooded place[224] separates us, its wavy sea running.[225] [1511]
We battle the Turks, and the mourning woman does not cease (weeping),
Among us and among them over a reckless possessor of courage.
If my opinion of Naṣr was ever truthful,
Among what refutation I devise and what I allow to pass,
He does not send the troops home until he has led them to take
Great spoils, while he gains possession of a great (ruler's) kingdom.
The horses stumble in chains at times,
Carrying the plunder to those seeking vengeance,
Until they see them to be dazzling just before they are sent home;
Among them is a standard like the shadow of a predatory hawk.

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223. A hillside at Mecca, the site of the famous Muslim cemetery. Since Thābit was at Samarqand, the reference to a place in Arabia emphasizes the enormous physical as well as spiritual distance. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 225.

224. Text: *mu'niq*; read: *mughriq*, as in B. Both readings are possible, but *mughriq* conforms better with the rest of the verse as we have interpreted it. See next note.

225. Text: *adhiyyatun jārī*; read: *ādhiyyuhu jāri*, as in Cairo ed. The line is obscure.

The frontier cannot be protected except by a possessor of perseverance
From among the generous, those driving for vengeance.
I, while I am of the stock from which the branches
Leafed out, and my forearm's (thrust) is piercing and accurate,
Will certainly mention a matter about you in which you excelled
Whoever was before you, O Naṣr b. Sayyār:
You stood up for me like a free man when (my) tribe
[1512] Failed me, and I found my supporters slow (to help).
While every friend in whom I had hoped became
Hostile to me, and ties with my neighbors were tattered.
But I did not clothe myself in the matter which they caused to fall
On me, nor did I defile my poor garments,
Nor did I rebel against an imam who had a right
To my obedience, nor did I commit any shameful act.

According to ʿAlī: Ashras went out to campaign and stopped at Āmul, where he stayed for three months. He sent ahead Qaṭan b. Qutaybah b. Muslim,[226] who crossed the Oxus with ten thousand men. Thereupon the forces of al-Sughd and Bukhārā, accompanied by the Khāqān and the Turks, approached, beleaguering Qaṭan in his camp which was protected by a trench. The Khāqān began to choose a horseman every day who would cross the Oxus with a group of Turks. Some of the Turks suggested, "Attack their animals while they are unsaddled." Thus they crossed and made their raid while the Muslims were dispersed. Ashras then released Thābit Quṭnah on the surety of ʿAbdallāh b. Bisṭām b. Masʿūd b., ʿAmr,[227] sending him forth with the latter and the cavalry. They followed the Turks and fought them at Āmul until they had rescued what the Turks held. Then (other) Turks crossed the Oxus to their compatriots who were returning, (enabling them to escape). Then Ashras crossed with the Muslims to join Qaṭan b. Qutaybah.

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226. The son of the famous governor of Khurāsān 86(705)–96(715). See Crone, *Slaves*, 137.

227. Of the Azdī subtribe of the Banū Maʿn. He was the grandson of Masʿūd b. ʿAmr, Qamar al-ʿIrāq, the famous Azdī leader of al-Baṣrah, commanded the Azdī army division in Khurāsān and was killed in 112(730), unless the ʿAbdallāh b. Bisṭām supporting Abū Muslim in 129(747) is the same person. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 381; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 213, II, 402; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1535, 1546, 1968.

Ashras sent a man called Mas'ūd, one of the sons of Ḥayyān, on a raid, but the enemy met and fought them. Some men of the Mus- [1513] lims were stricken, and Mas'ūd was defeated, so that he returned to Ashras. A certain poet of theirs said:

The raid of Mas'ūd failed; it did not gain as booty
Other than varieties of charging and galloping.
They camped in a land of deserts containing no friend:
Their (horses) at the mountain's base were the likes of drones (swarming).

The Battle of Baykand

The enemy approached, and, when they were close by, the Muslims met and fought them for a short time, then broke off the engagement. In that time, some men of the Muslims were slain. Then the Muslims renewed the battle, (this time) persevering. The polytheists were defeated. Ashras passed on with the troops until they camped at Baykand.[228] At this, the enemy cut off their water. Ashras and the Muslims stayed in their camp that day and night. When they arose in the morning, their water being exhausted, they dug (for water) but did not find any and became thirsty. Thereupon they left for the city[229] where the waters had been cut off from them, Qaṭan b. Qutaybah being in charge of the Muslim vanguard. The enemy met and fought them to the point that the Muslims were exhausted from thirst. Seven hundred of them died and the troops were unable to fight. Only seven men were left in the battle line of al-Ribāb.[230] Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn[231] was almost captured owing to the exhaustion he suffered. Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj[232] urged the men on, saying, "O people, being killed by the

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228. A city outside the great wall of the Bukhārā oasis towards the Oxus River, five *farsakhs* southwest of the city of Bukhārā. Baykand is its Arabic name, locally it was called Paykand. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 463; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 117–8.

229. That is, Bukhārā.

230. That is, of the subtribe of 'Adī al-Ribāb of the Tamīm.

231. Al-Ḍabbī, of the leading family of the Ḍabbah. An early Khurāsānī, he first appears in 74(693). He was a consistent supporter of the government and led the *khums* of the Tamīm in Khurāsān from at least 93(712) to 96(715). He must have been rather old here, and presumably he died shortly afterwards. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 860, 1029, 1291; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 246; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 203–4.

232. Al-Mujāshi'ī of the Tamīm, the famous revolutionary leader, Tamīmī parti-

sword is nobler in (this) world and greater in reward with God than death by thirst." At this al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, Qaṭan b. Qutaybah, and Isḥāq, the son of Wakī''s brother Muḥammad, advanced with
[1514] horsemen of the Banū Tamīm and the Qays. They fought until they drove the Turks from the water, whereupon the men hurried to it, drinking and quenching their thirst.

Thābit Quṭnah passed by 'Abd al-Malik b. Dithār al-Bāhilī and said to him, "O 'Abd al-Malik, do you follow the traditions of the jihād?" The latter answered, "Wait for me while I wash and embalm myself!"[233] Thābit stood waiting for him until he came out, then the two of them went on their way. Thābit said to his companions, "I am more knowledgeable about fighting those than you are," and urged them on. Thus they attacked the enemy. The fighting grew furious, and Thābit was slain along with a number of the Muslims, who included: Ṣakhr b. Muslim b. al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī, 'Abd al-Malik b. Dithār al-Bāhilī, al-Wajīh al-Khurāsānī, and al-'Aqqār b. 'Uqbah al-'Awdhī.[234] Qaṭan b. Qutaybah and Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ḥassān gathered together horsemen from the Banū Tamīm and the Qays who pledged each other to (fight to) the death, and boldly assaulted the enemy, fighting them and causing them to retreat. The Muslims pursued them, killing them until night stopped them and the enemy scattered. Then Ashras came to Bukhārā and besieged its populace.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak[235]—Hishām b. 'Umārah b. al-Qa'qā' al-Ḍabbī[236]—Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān:[237] Wajīh al-Bunānī told me while we were circumambulat-

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san, supporter of Murji'ite doctrines and precursor of Abū Muslim. He led a long-lasting frontier revolt 116(734)–126(744), gave the governors of Khurāsān almost interminable trouble and even joined the Turks. He was killed 128(746). See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 464–72, 476, 485–8.

233. In preparation for a certain death.

234. Text: *al-'Ūdī*; read: *al-'Awdhī*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 157, from which it is clear that only al-'Awdhī is a tribal name, as the text demands, and that the 'Awdh had become part of the Azd.

235. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marwazī, the mawlā of the Ḥanẓalah of the Tamīm, 118(736)–181(797), the great religious scholar of Khurāsān and Iraq. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 382–7

236. Almost certainly of al-Kūfah and very likely a mawlā as well, as are those before and after him in this *isnād*. His father is given as one of the sources of Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 297.

237. Abū al-Faḍl Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān b. Jarīr al-Kūfī, the mawlā of the Ḍabbah. He was a traditionist and was killed in the reign of al-Manṣūr (136(754)–158(775)).

ing the House,[238] "We met the Turks, who slew a group of us. I was struck down. I watched them while they sat and asked for water, until at last they came to me. A man of them said, 'Leave him, for he has a step he (still) must take and a fate he must meet.' This[239] is the step which I have just taken; now, I hope for martyrdom." After this, he went back to Khurāsān and was martyred with Thābit. [1515]

According to al-Wāzi' b. Mā'iq: Al-Wajīh passed by me leading two mules on the Day of Ashras. I said, "How did you arise this morning, O Abū Asmā'?" He answered, "I arose between being perplexed and gathering together. O God, join the two battle lines together in combat!" Then, wearing his bow and sword around his shoulders and wrapped in a hood, he attacked the opposing force and was martyred. Al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal al-'Abdī[240] was also martyred.

According to 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak: When Ashras met the Turks, Thābit Quṭnah said, "O God, as I was the guest of Ibn Bisṭām yesterday, make me your guest today! By God, the Banū Umayyah will not look upon me bound in iron!" Then he charged forward, as did his companions, but his companions were proven false, while he stood firm. His steed was shot, causing it to run away briskly, but Thābit struck it and then advanced boldly. Thābit was hit and returned from the fight wounded. He said while he lay prostrated, "O God, I arose in the morning the guest of Ibn Bisṭām and have entered the evening as your guest; therefore, receive me in the heaven of your goodly reward!"

According to 'Alī: It is said that Ashras crossed the Oxus and camped at Baykand, but found no water there. Thus, when his forces arose in the morning, they departed. When they neared the fortress of the Bukhārā Khudhāh, which was at that point a mile[241] away from them, a thousand horsemen met them, surrounding

See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 297–8.

238. That is, the Ka'bah, during the pilgrimage.

239. That is, the pilgrimage.

240. Actually, al-Jurmūzī of the Azd. His being attributed to the 'Abd al-Qays is unique to this place in the text and must be a mistake, unless the Jurmūz were at some time a subtribe of the 'Abd al-Qays; but there is no indication of that in the sources. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 222. Al-Haytham had been with al-Muhallab as early as 82(701) and had helped to overthrow Qutaybah in 96(715). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1078, 1296; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 500.

241. The Arabic mile equals 4,000 cubits *(dhirā')* of 22.75 inches each, thus

the troops. A cloud of dust spread (over them), so that a man could not see his neighbor.

Six thousand of the Muslims, including Qaṭan b. Qutaybah and Ghūrak[242] of the *dihqāns*, were cut off. These reached a fortress
[1516] among the forts of Bukhārā thinking that Ashras had perished, while (actually) Ashras was inside the forts of Bukhārā. Thus the two forces did not meet up for two days. Ghūrak joined the Turks in that battle. He had entered the fortress with Qaṭan, but when Qaṭan sent a man to him, (Ghūrak's troops) shouted at Qaṭan's messenger and Ghūrak joined the Turks.

It is said that Ghūrak fell in that day with a (Turkish) cavalry force and had no choice but to join them. It is (also) said that Ashras sent a message to Ghūrak asking him for a drinking cup, but that he answered Ashras's messenger, "Nothing is left to me to use in anointing myself except this cup; therefore, leave it!" Then Ashras sent a message to him (again), saying, "Drink from a gourd and send me the cup." Thus Ghūrak left him.

Naṣr b. Sayyār was in charge of Samarqand and 'Umayrah b. Sa'd al-Shaybānī was in charge of its taxation while they were besieged. 'Umayrah was among those who had come with Ashras.

Quraysh b. Abī Kahmas approached on horseback and said to Qaṭan, "The amīr and his men have made camp. None of the troops were lost except for you." Thus Qaṭan and his men made their way to the camp, which was a mile away.

It is said that Ashras camped near the city of Bukhārā, about a *farsakh* away, that place being called al-Masjid.[243] Then he moved to a grassy field called Bawādirah.[244]

The Siege of Kamarjah

Sabābah or Shabābah, the mawlā of Qays b. 'Abdallāh al-Bāhilī, came to the troops who were encamped at Kamarjah.[245] Kamarjah

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measuring 7,508.33 English feet or 1.43 English miles. See Hava, *al-Farā'id al-Durriyyah*, s.v. m-y-l, dh-r-'. However, there were many different measurements for a *dhirā'*.

242. Text: *Ghūzak*; read: *Ghūrak*, as Codd. and throughout the text.

243. This may be identical with the fortified village of Afshīnah, west of Bukhārā. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 119.

244. Outside the walls of Bukhārā. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 70.

245. A fortified place seven *farsakhs* west of Samarqand in the Zarafshān Valley.

was one of the noblest battle days of Khurāsān, and the greatest of them (to take place) in the days of Ashras in his governorship. Sabābah or Shabābah said to those at Kamarjah, "The Khāqān will be passing by you tomorrow. I suggest to you that you show your [1517] weapons and let him see earnestness and supreme effort, so that he will lose his taste for fighting you." One man among them said, "Secure yourselves against this one, for he has come to weaken you." They answered, "We will not do so; this is our mawlā whom we have come to know for his good advice." Thus they did not accept what the man said, but did what the mawlā had commanded them.

The Khāqān came upon them in the morning. When he was opposite them, he went up to the road to Bukhārā, as if he intended going there, but then he descended (toward the river) with his troops, (passing) behind a hill separating the Muslims and himself. The Turks camped and made ready, while the Muslims were unaware of them. When this, which surprised them, happened, the Muslims climbed up the hill, and suddenly there was a mountain of steel, (including) the forces of Farghānah, al-Ṭāraband,[246] Afshīnah,[247] Nasaf[248] and portions of the forces of Bukhārā.

The Muslim army then regretted (that it had come out). Kulayb b. Qanān al-Dhuhlī said, "They intend to come against you; therefore, send groups of your mailed animals along the road to the river as if you mean to have them drink. When you have stripped off their armor, take the road to the gate and slip in by groups, one group at a time." When the Turks saw them slipping away, they attacked them in the defiles. But the Muslims knew the road better than the Turks and beat them to the gate. The Turks overtook them there, killing a man called al-Muhallab who was part of the Muslims' garrison and was an Arab. The Turks fought the Muslims and took the gate outside the trench; then they entered (through) it and both parties continued fighting. One of the Arabs brought out a bundle of stalks which he had set ablaze and threw it in their faces, whereupon they drew back and cleared the [1518]

See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 125; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 71, and especially 86 n. 14.

246. The ancient capital of al-Shāsh. See *EI*², s.v. Tashkent.

247. Apparently a suburb of Samarqand or a town nearby. Probably not the Afshīnah of Bukhārā. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 87, 119.

248. An important city of Transoxiana, it was called Nakhshab in Persian and is now Karshi (Qarshi) in Uzbekistan. See *EI*¹, s.v. Nakhshab.

place, leaving dead and wounded behind. When it was evening, the Turks withdrew while the Arabs burnt the bridge. Then Khusraw b. Yazdigird[249] came to them with thirty men saying, "O Arabs, why do you kill yourselves when I have brought the Khāqān to restore my kingdom to me and (at the same time) will obtain a safe-conduct for you?" But they reviled him, and he went away.

Bāzaghari[250] came to them with two hundred men. He was a shrewd man from Transoxiana whom the Khāqān used not to oppose. With him were two relatives of the Khāqān and horses from the frontier cavalry force of Ashras. He said, "Grant us a safe passage so that we can come close to you and I can propose to you what the Khāqān has sent me to you for." They then gave him a safe-conduct, and he came near the city, its defenders looking down on him. He had with him Arab prisoners. Bāzagharī said, "O Arabs, let down one of your men to me so that I may speak to him about the message of the Khāqān." Thereupon they let down Ḥabīb, the mawlā of the Mahrah, of the inhabitants of Darqīn.[251] The Turks spoke to him, but he did not understand. At this, Bāzagharī said, "Let down to me a man who will undersand me." Thus they let down Yazīd b. Sa'īd al-Bāhilī, who spoke a little Turkish.

Bāzagharī said, "These are the horses of the (Muslim) frontier cavalry force, and the leaders of the Arabs are prisoners with them." He also told them, "The Khāqān sent me to you to say to you, 'I will give to whoever of you had a stipend of six hundred (dirhams one of) one thousand (dirhams), and to whoever had a stipend of three hundred (dirhams one of) six hundred (dirhams).' He is also decided besides this to treat you well." Yazīd answered him, "This is a matter that will not come together. How can the
[1519] Arabs, who are wolves, be with the Turks, who are sheep? There will not be between us and you peace." Bāzagharī became angry. The two Turks who were with him said, "Should we not cut off his head?" Bāzagharī answered, "No. He came down to us on a safe-conduct." Yazīd understood what the two had said and was afraid;

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249. Probably Khusraw b. Fayrūz b. Yazdigird, grandson of the last Sassanid king. If so, he would be the maternal uncle of the Caliph Yazīd b. al-Walīd. He could hardly be the son of Yazdigird III, who died 31(651), but rather his grandson. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 71; Tabari, III/2, 1874; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 310.

250. Vocalization uncertain.

251. Vocalization uncertain.

therefore he said, "O Bāzagharī, will you not make us two halves? One half will go with our moveable possessions, while the (other) half will go with the Khāqān. If the Khāqān is victorious, we will be with him; if it is otherwise, we will be like the rest of the cities of the people of al-Sughd." Bāzagharī and the two Turks agreed with what Yazīd had said. Bāzagharī said to him, "Propose to the people what we have agreed to." So Yazīd approached (the wall) and grasped the end of the rope, and they pulled him up until he was on the wall of the city. He called out, "O people of Kamarjah, unite together, for there has come to you a people who call you to unbelief after faith! What do you think?" They answered, "We will neither respond nor agree!" He said, "They call on you to fight against the Muslims on the side of the polytheists!" They replied, "We will all die together sooner than that!" He said, "Then let them know!"

They looked down on them and said, "O Bāzagharī, will you sell the captives in your hands? We will redeem them. But as for that which you have called us to, we will not submit to it." Bāzagharī responded, "Will you not rather purchase yourselves from us? For with you are nothing but the like of those of you who are in our hands." In their hands was al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḥumayd al-Naḍrī,[252] to whom they said, "O Ḥajjāj, will you not speak?" He said, "I am under surveillance." The Khāqān commanded that trees be cut down, whose green wood his men began to throw (into the trench), while the defenders of Kamarjah threw in dry wood, [1520]
until the trench was level for the Turks to cross. But the Muslims set fires in it, and a strong wind, a work of God, arose.

The fire blazed in the wood and burnt up all that they had done in six days in one hour of daylight. We[253] shot (arrows) at them, injuring them and causing them to be preoccupied with wounds.

An arrow struck Bāzagharī in his navel, causing his urine to be retained so that he died that night. His Turks cut off their ears, becoming the worst of those with bowed heads, weeping. Then

252. Perhaps of the Banū al-Naḍr b. ʿUwāfah b. Saʿd al-Fizr of the Tamīm. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 215; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 75. But see note 452.

253. Sometimes traces of direct narrative like this appear in al-Ṭabarī, implying the account here is that of an eyewitness. Changing person like this in Arabic is called *iltifāt*. It is quite common in the Qurʾān and is more acceptable than in English.

a horrible thought occurred to them: when the daylight was prolonged, they brought out the captives, who were one hundred, including Abū al-'Awjā' al-'Atakī and his companions, and killed them. They threw to the Muslims the head of al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḥumayd al-Naḍrī. The Muslims had two hundred of the sons of the polytheists as hostages in their hands, whom they now slew, though they fought desperately. The fighting became heavy. The enemy stood on the gate of the trench, then five Turkish chiefs went along on top of the wall. At this Kulayb said, "Who will help me against these?" Ẓuhayr b. Muqātil al-Ṭufāwī said, "I will help you against them." Then he went forward hurrying, saying to certain young men, "March behind me," as he was wounded. And two of those chiefs were slain on that day, while three escaped.

One of the Transoxianan princes said to Muḥammad b. Wassāj,[254] "It is strange that there does not remain a single prince in Transoxiana who has not fought at Kamarjah other than me. It is hard on me that I do not fight along with my equals and that my prowess has not been seen." The people of Kamarjah continued to suffer from (attacks) until Arab troops advanced, descending
[1521] on (the forces) of Farghānah. At this, the people of al-Sughd, Farghānah and al-Shāsh and the *dihqān*s blamed the Khāqān, who said to them, "You claimed that there were fifty donkeys in this (town) and that we would take it in five days, but now the five days have become two months." Thus he reviled them and ordered them to depart. They said, "We will not spare any effort, but rather bring us forth tomorrow and watch." On the next day, the Khāqān came and stood. The prince of al-Ṭāraband went up to him, asking permission to give battle and go into the Muslims' town. But the Khāqān said, "I do not think you should fight in this place," which he regarded as dangerous. The prince then said, "Give me two Arab girls as slaves, and I will go out against them." At this the Khāqān gave his permission.

Thus the prince fought. Eight of his men were killed, but he came on until he stopped before a breach (in the wall) beside which was a house. In the house there was a hole that opened on to the

254. Text: *Wishāḥ;* read: *Wassāj*, as B and Cairo ed. Probably a Tamīmī related to Bukayr b. Wassāj al-'Uṭāridī, governor of Khurāsān 72(691)–74(693), or even his son. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 219, where A.M. Hārūn also has preferred *Wassāj* to the commonly given *Wishāḥ*.

breach. Inside the house was a man of the Banū Tamīm who was sick. He threw at the prince a hooked iron which caught on his mail. Then he called the women and boys, who dragged him. The prince fell on his face and knees. A man threw a stone at him, which struck him at the base of his ear. He was knocked prostrate, and a man stabbed him, killing him. A beardless youth of the Turks came up and slew the killer, taking his plunder and his sword, but we overcame them regarding his body. It is said that he who answered the call to this was the best horseman of the people of al-Shāsh.

The Muslims took up a wooden water basin and stuck it against the wall of the trench; then, they made doors for it and set archers behind them. These included Ghālib b. al-Muhājir al-Ṭā'ī, the [1522] paternal uncle of Abū al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī[255] and two other men, one of whom was a Shaybānī, the other a Nājī. When the Khāqān came to look at the trench, the Nājī shot at him, hitting the bone of his nose, but he was wearing a Tibetan helmet,[256] so that the shot did not harm him. The Shaybānī also shot at him, but could not see more of him than his eyes. Finally, Ghālib b. al-Muhājir shot him, the arrow entering his chest, throwing him over. Nothing more severe touched the Khāqān.

It is said that the Khāqān only killed al-Ḥajjāj and his companions on that day because he had become alarmed. He sent a message to the Muslims saying, "It is not our practice to withdraw from a city on which we have descended without conquering it, or without its defenders leaving it." Kulayb b. Qanān answered him, "It is not of our religion to give over our hands until we are killed, so do what seems best to you." The Turks decided that their siege against the Muslims was harmful (to themselves); therefore, they gave them a safe-conduct with the stipulation that they go away—both the Khāqān and the Muslims—from the town with their families and possessions to Samarqand or al-Dabūsiyyah.[257]

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255. Ghālib earlier was in the expedition to save Qaṣr al-Bāhilī 102(721). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1422. Abū al-'Abbās is al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān, a famous 'Abbāsid agent *(dā'ī)*. See Crone *Slaves*, 174.

256. Ar. *kashkhūdah*. Not found in the dictionaries, but its meaning is evident from both the context and from the element *khūdah*.

257. A large town about midway between Samarqand and Bukhārā on the south bank of the Zarafshān River. As it was 17 or 18 *farsakh*s west of Samarqand, it also lay to the west of Kamarjah. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 97; Le Strange, *Lands*, 468.

Then the Khāqān told them, "Choose for yourselves whether to depart from this city."

The people of Kamarjah realized what difficulty they were in owing to the siege and hardship. They said, "We will consult the inhabitants of Samarqand," and sent Ghālib b. al-Muhājir al-Ṭā'ī. He descended into a place in the valley and went along to a fortress named Farzāwinah,[258] whose *dihqān* was his friend. He
[1523] said to him, "I have been sent to Samarqand; therefore, carry me there." The *dihqān* replied, "I cannot find any mount except certain of the mounts of the Khāqān, who has fifty animals in the pasture." Therefore, they went forth together to that pasture, where Ghālib took a steed and mounted it. A second steed was familiar with Ghālib's steed and thus followed him. Ghālib reached Samarqand that very night and told the folk there about the matter of the people of Kamarjah. They advised him (to tell them to go) to al-Dabūsiyyah, saying, "It is closer." Thus he came back to his companions. They took hostages from the Turks so that the latter would not interfere with them, and they also requested a man from the Turks through whom they would be strengthened, along with men from among themselves. The Turks said to them, "Choose whomever you want." They chose Kūrṣūl[259] to be with them, and he stayed with them until they reached where they wanted.

It is said that when the Khāqān saw that he would not get at them, he cursed his companions and commanded them to travel away from the Muslims. Al-Mukhtār b. Ghūrak and the prince of al-Sughd spoke to him, saying, "Do not do so, O King, but rather give the Muslims a safe-conduct so that they may go out of the town and may think that you only did that for them for the sake of Ghūrak, who is with the Arabs, loyal to them. His son al-Mukhtār has only beseeched you concerning that fearing for his father." The Khāqān gave his consent to them about that and sent Kūrṣūl over to the Muslims, to be with them, protecting them from whomever sought (to attack) them.

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258. Vocalization uncertain.

259. Al-Turqashī. His Turkish name is Köl-chür, his title the Baga Tarkhan. He first appears fighting the Arabs in 102(721) as one of the Khāqān's great nobles. Later he murdered the Khāqān in 120(738) and usurped his place. He seems to have been executed by the Chinese in 126(744). See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 61, 85, 91; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 472, 476.

Thus the Turkish hostages came into the Muslims' hands, while the Khāqān departed, giving the impression that he was heading for Samarqand. The hostages which were in the Muslims' hands were from among the Turkish princes. When the Khāqān left, Kūrṣūl said to the Arabs, "Depart!" They answered, "We do not like to leave while the Turks have not yet gone, nor do we trust them not to threaten any of the women, at which the Arabs would get angry, and thus return to the same kind of war we were (just) in."

Therefore, Kūrṣūl left them alone until the Khāqān and the Turks had gone on. When they had performed the noon worship, Kūrṣūl bid them to depart, saying, "Difficulty, death, and fear are only until you have gone two *farsakhs*; then you will reach contiguous villages." They then departed, there being in the hand [1524] of the Turks a group of Arab hostages who included Shu'ayb al-Bakrī or al-Naṣrī, Sibā' b. al-Nu'mān[260] and Sa'īd b. 'Aṭiyyah. In the hands of the Arabs were five of the Turks. They had mounted behind every Turkish man a man of the Arabs with a dagger. Each Turk was wearing only a gown with full sleeves, and thus they led them along. Then the Iranians[261] said to Kūrṣūl, "Al-Dabūsiyyah holds ten thousand fighting men. We don't guarantee that they will not come forth against us." He answered, "If the Arabs fight you, they will fight us with you," and thus they kept going. When they had drawn within about a *farsakh* of al-Dabūsiyyah or less, its inhabitants, seeing horsemen, standards, and a vast force, supposed that Kamarjah had been taken and that the Khāqān was aiming at them.

We drew near to them, they having readied themselves for war. Kulayb b. Qanān sent forth a man from the Banū Nājiyah called al-Ḍaḥḥāk galloping on a steed. In command of al-Dabūsiyyah was 'Aqīl b. Warrād al-Sughdī. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk came to them while they were arranged in rows of cavalry and infantry, giving them the news. At this, the men of al-Dabūsiyyah galloped forward to carry whoever was too weak to walk or was wounded. Then Kulayb sent

260. Al-Azdī. He was already a revolutionary by 126(744), when his execution was sought; in 130(748) he was governor of Samarqand for Abū Muslim, but in 135(753) was arrested for plotting against him. Al-Ya'qūbī gives his name as Sibā' b. Ma'mar. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1858, 2001, I/3, 82; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 410.

261. These must be mawālī who had been in Kamarjah with the Arabs.

a message to Muḥammad b. Karrāz and Muḥammad b. Dirham, so that they would inform Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān and Saʿīd b. ʿAṭiyyah that they had arrived safely. Then they freed the hostages: the Arabs began sending back one of the Turkish hostages who were in their hands, while the Turks sent back one of the Arab hostages who were in their hands, until there was left Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān
[1525] in the hands of the Turks and one of the Turks in their hands. Each side began to fear treachery from the other. Sibāʿ said, "Let the Turkish hostage go"; therefore, they freed him, leaving Sibāʿ in the Turks' hands. Kūrṣūl asked him, "Why did you do this?" He answered, "I trusted in your view of me and said that your spirit would be above treachery in such an instance." At this Kūrṣūl rewarded him, armed him, mounted him on a horse and returned him to his companions.

The siege of Kamarjah lasted fifty-eight days. It is said that they did not water their camels for thirty-five days.

The Khāqān divided the sheep among his followers, saying, "Eat their meat, fill their skins with earth, and fill up your trench," which they did, filling it up. But God sent against them a cloud pouring rain, which carried away what they had thrown in (the trench) and deposited it in the greater river.[262]

Also, a group of Khārijites was with the inhabitants of Kamarjah, including Ibn Shunj, the mawlā of the Banū Nājiyah.

In this year the people of Kurdar[263] became apostates, but the Muslims fought and conquered them. The Turks had helped the people of Kurdar. Therefore, Ashras sent to the vicinity of Kurdar a thousand men to help the Muslims. When they arrived, the Muslims, having defeated the Turks, triumphed over the forces of Kurdar. ʿArfajah al-Dārimī said:

We protected the people of Marw and others,
[1526] And we drove the Turks away from the people of Kurdar.
If you give what we have taken as spoil to others,
An honorable man may be wronged and then wait patiently.

262. That is, the Zarafshān. This report refers to the time of the siege, being a doublet of the account appearing on pp. 1517–8.

263. A town in the delta of the Oxus, on the right bank. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 455; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 151.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh gave charge of the worship at al-Baṣrah together with the security force, youths *(aḥdāth)*,[264] and judiciary to Bilāl b. Abī Burdah, bringing all these together under him and thereby dismissing Thumāmah b. 'Abdallāh b. Anas from the judiciary.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl led the pilgrimage, as reported by Abū Ma'shar, al-Wāqidī and others.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām was governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca and al-Ṭā'if in this year, while Khālid b. 'Abdallāh was governor of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and all of Iraq and Ashras b. 'Abdallāh was governor of Khurāsān.

264. What is meant by *aḥdāth* is obscure, but already at this time they may have constituted a loosely organized urban militia for secondary duties, analogous to the *vigiles* of Augustan Rome. See EI^2, s.v. Aḥdāth.

The Events of the Year

III

(April 5, 729—March 25, 730)

Among the year's events, Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām led the summer campaign on the left flank (against the Byzantines), while Sa'īd b. Hishām[265] led the summer campaign on the right, even reaching Qaysariyyah.

According to al-Wāqidī: In the year 111, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Maryam[266] led the seaborne force. Also, Hishām made al-Ḥakam b. Qays b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf[267] commander of all the men from the inhabitants of Syria and Egypt.

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265. Son of of the Caliph Hishām by a concubine, he commanded at Ḥimṣ for his brother Sulaymān in the civil war against Marwān and, being captured by the latter, was imprisoned in Ḥarrān until 132(750), when he was slain. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1912, I/3, 43; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 168.

266. Perhaps the mawlā of the Banū Sā'idah of the Khazraj, as Bakr b. Suwādah al-Judhāmī, who transmitted from him, is said to have died in the sea near Spain in 128(746). They could have been associates in seaborne expeditions. 'Abdallāh is said to have seen Abū Ḥumayd al-Sā'idī, who died around 60(680), and therefore he was probably born around 50(670) or slightly later. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 483–4, VI, 26, XII, 79.

267. Since Qays b. Makhramah was a companion of the Prophet a century earlier, and since no son al-Ḥakam is attributed to him by the genealogists, one or two generations are almost certainly missing from this genealogy. 'Abdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Madīnah 74(693)–75(694) for al-Ḥajjāj. Perhaps this al-Ḥakam is his son or nephew. See Wakī', *Quḍāh*, I, 124–5; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 92–3.

In this year the Turks moved againts Ādharbayjān, but al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr[268] met and defeated them. [1527]

In it Hishām appointed al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī[269] governor of Armenia.

This year, Hishām removed Ashras b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī from Khurāsān and appointed al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī[270] as governor.

The Reason for Hishām's Removal of Ashras from Khurāsān and His Appointment of al-Junayd

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Dhayyāl: The reason for the dismissal of Ashras was that Shaddād b. Khālid al-Bāhilī went to Hishām to complain about him. Therefore, Hishām dismissed him, appointing al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān as governor of Khurāsān in the year 111(730).[271]

The reason for Hishām's appointment of Junayd was that he had given a jeweled necklace to Umm Ḥakīm bt. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam, the wife of Hishām.[272] It pleased Hishām; thus al-Junayd gave Hishām another necklace. After this, he appointed al-Junayd governor of Khurāsān and had him carried (thither) by eight (animals) of the state post.[273] Al-Junayd sought from him more animals than those, but Hishām did not give (them to him).

Al-Junayd came to Khurāsān with five hundred (men) while Ashras b. 'Abdallāh was fighting the people of Bukhārā and al-Sughd. He asked for a man who would go with him to Transoxiana, and al-Khaṭṭāb b. Muḥriz al-Sulamī,[274] Ashras's deputy,[275] was

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268. Al-Ṭa'ī. He had ruled al-Balqā' in Syria and then had been governor of Armenia for Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. See Crone, *Slaves*, 127.

269. The Umayyad general who governed al-Baṣrah, Iraq, Khurāsān and Armenia at different times. See Crone, *Slaves*, 132.

270. Text: *al-Muzanī*; read: *al-Murrī*. See note 9.

271. The appointment probably came late in the year. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 459–60n.

272. The Umayyad wife of Hishām, his first cousin once removed, the mother of five of his children. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 167; Kaḥḥalah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, I, 285–7.

273. The communications network at the Caliph's disposal, also used for intelligence gathering. See EI^2, s.v. al-Barīd.

274. Still alive in 130(748), when he was part of a Muḍarī delegation to Abū Muslim. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1985.

275. In Marw.

recommended to him. When he reached Āmul, al-Khaṭṭāb advised him to stop there and write to those at Zamm[276] and those around
[1528] it to come to him. But he refused, rather sending a message to Ashras, "Supply me with cavalry," and was afraid to cross before the cavalry reached him. Therefore, Ashras sent him 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī. When 'Āmir was on a certain part of the road, the Turks and Sughdīs attacked him in order to cut him off before he could reach al-Junayd. 'Āmir retreated to a strongly walled garden and fought the enemy at its entrance. With him was Ward b. Ziyād b. Adham b. Kulthūm, the (grand)son of the brother of al-Aswad b. Kulthūm.[277] A man of the enemy shot Ward with an arrow, hitting him in the side of the nose and piercing both nostrils. 'Āmir b. Mālik said to him, "O Abū al-Zāhiriyyah, you look like a brooding chicken!" One of the great men of the Turks was slain by the gate, while the Khāqān was on a hill behind which was a swampy thicket. 'Āṣim b. 'Umayr al-Samarqandī[278] and Wāṣil b. 'Amr al-Qaysī[279] went forth with (a force of) *shākiriyyah*,[280] circling round until they were behind that waterhole. Then they joined together wood, reeds, and whatever else they could, to make a path through the water to cross on. The Khāqān did not notice (anything) until (they shouted), "God is Greater!" Wāṣil and the *shākiriyyah* assaulted the enemy and fought them, a horse being killed from under Wāṣil. The Khāqān and his forces were defeated. 'Āmir b. Mālik came out of the garden and went on his

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276. A town on the left bank of the Oxus at an important ford, the modern Kerki or Karkhi. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 80–1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 403–4.

277. Al-'Adawī of 'Adī al-Ribāb. Al-Aswad led the first Muslims to reach Bayhaq into one of its walled gardens, but was cut off by the enemy at the entrance and slain there by the enemy while trying to get out. This is a curious inversion of the story of 'Āmir here, both stories having the Muslims beleaguered in a walled garden and fighting at the entrance, which suggests a possible doublet. Adham completed the conquest of Bayhaq 31(650). See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 500.

278. Al-Ṣarīmī al-Sughdī al-Hazārmard. He was a great warrior and one of the inveterate Khurāsānī supporters of the Umayyads who stayed with Naṣr b. Sayyār to the bitter end, then was finally killed by Abū Muslim's followers in 131(749) at the capitulation of Nihāwand. He was apparently from Ṭukhāristān, like 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1691, 1920–1, 2000, I/3, 6–8.

279. An Arab inhabitant of Bukhārā who was assassinated while governing for Naṣr there 121(739). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1693–4.

280. From the Persian *chākir*, servant. These were a body of servant-soldiers personally attached to their patron, who often formed an elite bodyguard. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 180, 183; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 496.

way to al-Junayd with seven thousand (troops). Finally, he met al-Junayd and proceeded with him.

In charge of al-Junayd's vanguard was 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym.[281] [1529]
When al-Junayd reached a point two *farsakhs* from Baykand, the Turkish cavalry met him, and he fought them. Al-Junayd and those with him nearly perished. Then God gave him victory, and he went along until he reached the camp. Al-Junayd was triumphant, killing the Turks. The Khāqān marched against him, so that they met below Zarmān[282] in the territory of Samarqand. Qaṭan b. Qutaybah was in charge of al-Junayd's rear, while Wāṣil commanded the men of Bukhārā, of which he was a resident. The king of al-Shāsh was taken prisoner,[283] and in this battle al-Junayd also captured the nephew of the Khāqān, whom he sent to the Caliph. Al-Junayd had left behind al-Mujashshir[284] b. Muzāḥim as his deputy at Marw during his campaign and appointed Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr of the Banū Abān b. Dārim over Balkh. When he had achieved so much of his purpose,[285] he sent 'Umārah b. Mu'āwiyah al-'Adawī, Muhammad b. al-Jarrāḥ al-'Abdī and 'Abd Rabbihi b. Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Sulamī[286] as a delegation to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Immediately they departed, but fell to quarreling among themselves at al-Tirmidh, where they remained for two months. Then al-Junayd reached Marw, having triumphed. The Khāqān said, "This is an easy-living boy who defeated me this year, but I will destroy him in a future year."

Pilgrimage and Governors

Al-Junayd appointed his officials, giving appointments only to Muḍarīs. He appointed Qaṭan b. Qutaybah as governor of Bukhārā, al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā' al-'Absī[287] as governor for Herat, Ḥabīb b.

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281. Or Ibn Khuraym, al-Murrī, al-Junayd's first cousin on his father's side. See Crone, *Slaves*, 98.

282. A town between Samarqand and Bukhārā in the Zarafshān Valley seven *farsakhs* west of Samarqand and thus necessarily close to Kamarjah. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 468.

283. Text: *fa-usimm*; read: *fa-usir*, as Ms. BM and Cairo ed.

284. Text: *Mujashshir*; read: *al-Mujashshir*.

285. By defeating the Turks.

286. A mawlā. See above, p. 1499.

287. A relative of the Umayyads through his cousin, the wife of 'Abd al-Malik

Murrah al-ʿAbsī[288] as chief of his security force, and Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bāhilī[289] over Balkh. Naṣr b. Sayyār had been
[1530] subgovernor of Balkh, and he and the Bāhilīs were estranged from one another owing to what had happened between them at al-Barūqān. Therefore, Muslim sent (his men) to Naṣr. They found him sleeping and thus brought him back in a long nightshirt which was tucked up. He was not wearing long underpants but was trying to cover himself with his shirt.[290] Muslim was embarrassed and said, "You have brought a chief of the Muḍar in this condition!" Then al-Junayd dismissed Muslim from the governorship of Balkh and appointed al-Tujībī[291] b. Ḍubayʿah to it. He also put Shaddād b. Khālid al-Bāhilī in charge of the finance office of Samarqand. Al-Samharī b. Qaʿnab[292] was with al-Junayd.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī led the pilgrimage. His governorship included the same area in this year as it had the year before, which I have mentioned earlier. The governor of Iraq was Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh while that of Khurāsān was al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

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and the mother of al-Walīd and Sulaymān, he was a Syrian from Qinnasrīn. After his eastern service with al-Junayd, he was back in Syria as governor of Qinnasrīn by 119(737). See Crone, *Slaves*, 105.

288. Probably a mistake for al-Murrī. A supporter of Marwān, he fought the ʿAbbāsids in the *jund* of al-Urdunn 132(750). See Crone, *Slaves*, 167.

289. The most important Bāhilī in Khurāsān after Qutaybah his uncle, he held the rule in Balkh in 111(730), 120(738) and 123(741) at least, was considered for the governorship of Khurāsān 120(738), was later a supporter of Naṣr and fought Abū Muslim until at least 130(748). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1663–4, 1723, 1999.

290. Text: *qamīṣayh*; read: *qamīṣah*; there being no justification in the context for the dual. For *qamīṣ*, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 371–5.

291. Text: *Yaḥyā*; read: *al-Tujībī*. Al-Tujībī was of the Murrah like al-Junayd, whom he served as governor of Herat as well as Balkh before being killed in 116(734). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1566–8.

292. Probably a Riyāḥī of the Tamīm. See Crone, *Slaves*, 113.

The Events of the Year 112

(March 26, 730 - March 14, 731)

Among the events of this year was the summer campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām, in which he captured Kharshanah[293] and burned Farandiyyah in the region of Malaṭyah.[294]

In this year, the Turks went forth from al-Lān. Al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī met them with those Syrians and Ādharbayjānīs he had with him. But his army did not gather in full strength, so that al-Jarrāḥ and those with him died as martyrs on the field [1531] of Ardabīl, and the Turks took Ardabīl.[295] Al-Jarrāḥ had left his brother al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abdallāh as his deputy for Armenia.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar: The Turks slew al-Jarrāḥ b.

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293. Kharsianon in Byzantine Cappadocia near Malaṭyah. The event is also reported by Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, who agrees with al-Ṭabarī's dating and naming of the commander and by Theophanes, who places it in a year beginning with September 730 and erroneously calls the Muslim commander Maslamah. The event may thus be dated to early autumn, about Jumādā II–Rajab 112 (September-October 730). See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 504; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 101; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 359; Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 248–9.

294. An important city on the upper Euphrates, it still bears the same name. It was then in the hands of the Muslims. See *EI*[1], s.v. Malaṭya.

295. A large city still bearing the same name in eastern Ādharbayjān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 159, 168; *EI*[2], s.v. Ardabīl.

'Abdallāh at Balanjar.[296] When Hishām heard the news, he summoned Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī[297] and said to him, "I have heard that al-Jarrāḥ has fled before the polytheists." Sa'īd replied, "Certainly not, O Commander of the Faithful. Al-Jarrāḥ knows God too well to flee from the enemy. Rather he has been killed." Hishām then asked, "What is your opinion?" Sa'īd answered, "That you send me along with forty post animals, that you then send me every day forty animals with forty men on them, and that you then write to the commanders of the troops so that they will come to me." Thereupon Hishām did that.

It is mentioned that Sa'īd b. 'Amr came upon three groups of Turks which were going to the Khāqān with those Muslims and dhimmīs whom they had captured. Al-Ḥarashī rescued those who had been taken and made great slaughter among the Turks.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: Al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān said on one of the nights of his fighting with the Turks in the defile, "A night like the night of al-Jarrāḥ and a day like his day!" It was said to him, "May God make you prosper, when al-Jarrāḥ was attacked, the men of sagacity and perseverance were slain, so that when night came on him, his troops slipped away under the cover of darkness to cities of theirs in Ādharbayjān, and al-Jarrāḥ, having few (men) by morning, was killed."

In this year, Hishām sent his brother Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik
[1532] to follow the Turks. He traveled in a winter of severe cold, rain and snow, nevertheless pursuing them—according to what has been reported—until he passed beyond al-Bāb[298] in their footsteps. He left al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Ṭā'ī behind at al-Bāb.

In this year, the battle between al-Junayd and the Turks, whose leader was the Khāqān, occurred in the defile. In this fight Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr was slain. It has been said that this battle happened in the year 113.[299]

296. A town north of the Caucasus in Khazaria. See *EI²*, s.v. Balandjar, al-Ḳabḳ.

297. A Syrian from Qinnasrīn, he served as governor in al-Baṣrah, Khurāsān, and Armenia. See Crone, *Slaves*, 144.

298. The Caspian Gates. See *EI²*, s.v. Bāb al-Abwāb, al-Ḳabḳ.

299. By Ibn Khayyāṭ, for example. Gibb and Wellhausen concur with the later dating, which seems to make more sense, as events of the previous years appear much compressed. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 505; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 73; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 460n.

The Battle of the Defile: What Its Cause Was and How It Happened

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went forth campaigning in the year 112, heading for Ṭukhāristań. He camped by the river of Balkh, sending ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym to Ṭukhāristān[300] with eighteen thousand (men) and Ibrāhīm b. Bassām al-Laythī[301] in another direction with ten thousand. The Turks then raised their army and came against Samarqand, where Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr, one of the Banū Abań b. Dārim, was governor. Sawrah wrote to al-Junayd, "The Khāqān has mobilized the Turks. I went out against them, but I was unable to defend the (outer) wall[302] of Samarqand. Help!" Al-Junayd thereupon commanded his forces to cross (the Oxus). Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī, Ibn Bisṭām al-Azdī, and Ibn Ṣubḥ al-Kharaqī went to him and said, "The Turks are not like others; they neither meet you in a battle line nor marching slowly in readiness. You have scattered your troops: Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is at al-Nayrūdh, al-Bakhtarī is at Herat, the forces of al-Ṭālaqān have not [1533]
yet come to you and ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym is away." Al-Mujashshir told him, "The possessor of Khurāsān ought not to cross the Oxus with less than fifty thousand (men). Therefore, write to ʿUmārah so that he may come to you. Wait and do not hurry." Al-Junayd responded, "What about Sawrah and the Muslims who are with him? Even if I had only the Banū Murrah or those who came with me of the Syrians, I would cross." He added:

Is not the worthiest man he who witnesses the roar of battle,
Where heroes are slain, giant upon giant?

He also said:

What would be my plea, what would be my plea, what would be

300. Upper Ṭukhāristān, lying east of Balkh, is clearly meant. See Shaban, *ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, 10.

301. Rather, the mawlā of the Layth. His was a well-known family of mawālī who served Naṣr but secretly supported the Hashimite cause. Thus in 128(746) Ibrāhīm was still fighting for Naṣr, but by 130(748) he was pursuing him on behalf of Abū Muslim. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1927; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 591; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 233.

302. This probably refers to a wall or walls enclosing gardens or suburbs rather than to the city itself.

my plea,
If I did not fight? Therefore cut my side curl!

Al-Junayd then crossed, making camp as Kishsh.[303] He had sent al-Ashhab b. ʿUbayd al-Ḥanẓalī to find out about what the enemy was doing. Al-Ashhab came back to him saying, "They have come upon you; therefore, get ready to set out!" The Turks advanced (a force) to spoil the wells which were on the road to Kishsh, as well as whatever waterholes were on it. Al-Junayd then asked, "Which of the two roads to Samarqand is better?" Those with him answered, "The road of al-Muḥtaraqah."[304] But al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī interposed, "Being killed by the sword is better than being killed by fire. The road of al-Muḥtaraqah has trees and (tall) grass in it, not having been cultivated for years, so that these by now have overgrown each other. If you meet the Khāqān, he will set fire to all that, so that we will be killed by the fire and smoke. Rather take the road of the steep ascent, on
[1534] which there will be equality between us and them." Therefore, al-Junayd took the road of the steep ascent and climbed up into the mountains. Al-Mujashshir took the reins of his mount, saying, "It used to be said that certain of the troops of Khurāsān would perish at the hands of a luxury-loving man from the Qays. We now fear that you may be he." Al-Junayd replied, "Dispell your fear." Al-Mujashshir said, "But while the like of you is among us it will not be dispelled." He spent the night at the bottom the ascent, then departed when he arose in the morning. Al-Junayd found himself between those leaving and those staying. He met a horseman and asked him, "What is your name?" He answered, "Ḥarb." Al-Junayd asked, "The son of whom?" He replied, "The son of Maḥrabah." Al-Junayd again asked, "From which subtribe?" Ḥarb answered, "The Banū Ḥanẓalah." Al-Junayd told him, "May God give warfare,[305] rage, and rabies power over you!" Al-Junayd went

303. Text: *Kiss*; read: *Kishsh*, and likewise throughout the text. An important city like Nasaf-Nakhshab between the Oxus and Samarqand; now Shahr-i-Sabz in Uzbekistan. See *EI*², s.v. Kas͟h; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 134–5; Le Strange, *Lands*, 469–70.

304. A village near Samarqand north of the mountains separating Samarqand and Kishsh. It was formerly called Faryāb and seems to have been in a wooded area. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 138.

305. Arabic: *ḥarb*. A play on the name Ḥarb b. Maḥrabah, who is seen here retreating, despite his fierce name.

on with his troops until he entered the defile, there being four *farsakhs* between him and the city of Samarqand. But the Khāqān came against him on the morrow with a huge force. The inhabitants of al-Sughd, al-Shāsh, and Farghānah, as well as part of the Turks, marched against al-Junayd.

The Khāqān attacked the vanguard, which was commanded by 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr. These returned to the camp, while the Turks followed them, coming at them from every direction. Al-Ikhrīd[306] had said to al-Junayd, "Return the troops to the camp, for a numerous force has come against you." The first of the enemy came up while the men were having lunch. 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān[307] saw them but did not wish to tell the men until they had finished their lunch. Abū al-Dhayyāl looked about, saw them and said, "The enemy!" Therefore the men rode to (warn) al-Junayd. He put the Tamīm and the Azd on the right and the Rabī'ah on the left next to the mountain. In command of the armored cavalry of the Banū Tamīm was [1535] 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān, while 'Umar or 'Amr b. Jirfās b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shuqrān al-Minqarī commanded the light cavalry. 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī commanded the division of the Banū Tamīm. 'Abdallāh b. Bisṭām b. Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ma'nī commanded the Azd, whose armored and light cavalry were commanded by al-Fuḍayl b. Hannād[308] and 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān,[309] the one in charge of the armored and the other the light cavalry. It is said that rather the last was Bishr b. Ḥawdhān, the brother of 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān al-Jahḍamī. These met with (the forces of) the Rabī'ah near the mountain in a narrow place where no one

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306. The local Iranian ruler of Kishsh, from which al-Junayd has just come. See Ṭabarī I/3, 79–80. Not to be confused with al-Ikhshīdh, the ruler of Samarqand, who was with the Turks at this time.

307. Al-'Adawī, from the famous family of 'Adawī transmitters. He was present at the killing of Qutaybah in 96(715) and on later occasions was entrusted with division of spoils and led the Tamīm cavalry division. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1446, 1463; *Naqā'iḍ*, 357, 361.

308. Text: *Fuḍayl*; read: *al-Fuḍayl*. He belongs to the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Ghiṭrīf, a subtribe of the Azd. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 217, II, 247; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 514.

309. He is reputed to have been at the siege of Bukhārā with Salm b. Ziyād as early as 62(682) and in 96(715) was in command of the Azd division of the Khurāsānī army. See Ṭabarī II/2, 1290–1; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 275–6; Narshakhī, *Ta'rīkh Bukhārā*, 67.

approached them.

The enemy made for the (Muslim) right wing, where the Tamīm and the Azd were in a wide place which had space for cavalry. Ḥayyān b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Zuhayr dismounted in his father's view to give his horse to his brother ʿAbd al-Malik. His father then said to him, "O Ḥayyān, hurry to your brother, for he is but a youth, and I fear for him." But Ḥayyān refused; therefore, his father said, "O my little son, if you are slain in this state of yours, you will be slain disobedient." Therefore, Ḥayyān went back to the place where he had left his brother and the horse. He found his brother had joined the camp and had tethered the horse. Ḥayyān cut its halter and rode off on it, coming to the enemy, which had now surrounded the place where he had left his father and his companions.
[1536] Al-Junayd sent to their aid Naṣr b. Sayyār with seven (others), including Jamīl b. Ghazwān al-ʿAdawī. ʿUbaydallāh b. Zuhayr joined them, and they charged the enemy, whom they put to flight. Then the enemy returned the charge against them, so that they were all slain together, not one of them who were in that place escaping.[310] ʿUbaydallāh b. Zuhayr, Ibn Ḥawdhān, Ibn Jirfās, and al-Fuḍayl b. Hannād were killed.

The right wing fell back while al-Junayd was standing in the center. He came now to the right and stood beneath the standard of the Azd. He had behaved harshly towards them, so that the standard bearer of the Azd said to him, "You have not come to us to give us an award nor to honor us, but rather you have learned that no harm will come to you as long as a man of us is alive. If we win, it will be for your benefit; if we perish, you will not weep over us. By my life, if we win and I survive, I will never speak a word to you." He then advanced and was killed. Ibn Mujjāʿah[311] took up the standard also and was then slain. The standard was held by eighteen (different) men of the Azd, who were killed. On that day, eighty men of the Azd were killed.

The men fought persistently until they were exhausted. Their swords would neither wound nor cut anything.[312] Their slaves cut wooden staves to fight with, until (finally) the two sides

310. Naṣr b. Sayyār, however, was not killed.

311. Ḥamzah b. Mujjāʿah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAtakī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 203, II, 419.

312. Because they were dulled by so much use.

wearied, the battle being close-fought, so that they abstained from further fighting. Of the Azd who were killed were: Ḥamzah b. Mujjā'ah al-'Atakī, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān al-Jahḍamī, 'Abdallāh b. Bisṭām al-Ma'nī, his brother Zunaym, al-Ḥasan b. Shaykh, al-Fuḍayl al-Ḥārithī, who was the cavalry com- [1537] mander, and Yazīd b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḥuddānī, who had made the pilgrimage, spending 180,000 (dirhams) on it. He had said to his mother Waḥshiyyah, "Pray to God that he grant me martyrdom"; thus she prayed for him. He lost consciousness and thus was martyred thirteen days after his coming back from the pilgrimage. Two slaves of his fought beside him, although he had ordered them to go away, and both were slain and thus martyred.

On the Day of the Defile, Yazīd b. al-Mufaḍḍal had brought in a hundred camels loaded with gruel of parched barley for the Muslims. He began asking about people, and did not ask about anyone except it was said to him, "He has been killed." Therefore, he advanced saying, "There is no god but God," and fought until he was slain. On that day, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān fought while on a sorrel horse wearing a gilded coat of mail. He charged seven times, killing a man in every charge, then he returned to his station. Those in his part of the battlefront were awed by him; therefore, the enemy's interpreter called out, "The king says to you, 'Do not advance, but come over to us: we will reject our idol which we worship and worship you (instead).'" Muḥammad declared, "I am fighting you so that you will leave the worship of idols and worship God alone!" He then fought on and was martyred. Jusham b. Qurṭ al-Hilālī of the Banū al-Ḥārith[313] was killed. Al-Naḍr b. Rāshid al-'Abdī was also slain. He had entered the room of his wife while the troops were fighting and said to her, "How would you be if you were brought Abū Ḍamrah on a saddle blanket, stained with blood?" She then tore the front (of her garment) and called out in affliction. He said, "Enough from you! If every [1538] female loudly bewailed me, I would disobey her out of longing for the fair black-eyed women of paradise." He returned then to fight until he was martyred.

While the men were (undergoing) the like of this, a dust cloud

313. Of the Azdī subtribe of the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Ghiṭrīf. The Banū Hilāl mentioned here are from the Hilāl b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith al-Ghiṭrīf al-Aṣghar. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 217.

approached; then horsemen appeared. Al-Junayd's herald called out, "To the ground! To the ground!" and dismounted, as did the troops also. Then al-Junayd's herald called out, "Let every commander dig a trench in front of his position," and thus the men dug trenches.

Al-Junayd, watching ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Makkiyyah attack the enemy, said, "Who is this heady wine pouring?" He was answered, "This is Ibn Makkiyyah." Al-Junayd said, "Is he the tongue of the people? How excellent he is! What a man he is!" The sides then refrained from fighting further. One hundred and ninety Azdīs were casualties.

They had met the Khāqān on a Friday. Al-Junayd sent a message to ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿammar b. Sumayr al-Yashkurī,[314] telling him to stop in the district near Kishsh and hold back whoever passed by him, keeping both the baggage and infantry. The mawālī came, infantry except for a solitary horseman. The enemy were pursuing them. ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿammar stood firm against the enemy and thus suffered martyrdom along with men from the Bakr.

The Muslims arose on Saturday morning. The Khāqān drew nigh at midday, but he did not see any place to fight in easier than the position of the Bakr b. Wāʾil, who were commanded by Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith. When the Khāqān came at them, the Bakr said to Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith, "Their forces outnumber us. Therefore, let us attack them before they attack us." Ziyād answered them, "I have
[1539] practiced (warfare) for seventy years. If you charge them, going up to them, you will be defeated; rather, leave them alone until they draw near," and so they did. When the enemy neared them, they charged them, clearing them away from themselves, so that al-Junayd prostrated himself. The Khāqān said that day, "The Arabs, when they are put in difficult straits, defy death. Therefore, leave them alone until they come out, and do not oppose them, for you cannot stand up to them." Certain maids belonging to al-Junayd came out making ululations, and some men from the people of Syria answered back saying, "God, God, O people of Khurāsān, whither (are you going)?" Al-Junayd said, "(It is) a night like al-

314. A member of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's entourage as early as 82(701), he commanded large forces in Jurjān in 98(717) and in Transoxiana 99–100(718–9), when he is reported to have passed Farghānah. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1078, III/2, 1327–8; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 524; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 302; *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, 196a.

Jarrāh's night and a day like his day."

In this year, Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr al-Tamīmī was slain.

The Killing of Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr al-Tamīmī and the Rest of the Campaign

According to 'Alī—his authorities: 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb[315] said to al-Junayd, "Choose between you yourself perishing or else Sawrah." Al-Junayd answered, "It is easier for me that Sawrah perish." 'Ubaydallāh said, "Then write to him so that he may come to you with the forces of Samarqand, for if it reaches the Turks that Sawrah has set out toward you, they will go off toward him to fight him." Therefore, al-Junayd wrote to Sawrah ordering him to come.

It is said that al-Junayd wrote, "Help me." 'Ubādah b. al-Salīl al-Muḥāribī,[316] the father of al-Ḥakam b. 'Ubādah, said to Sawrah, "Look for the coldest house in Samarqand and sleep in it, for then, when you go out, you will not care whether the amīr is angry with you or satisfied." Ḥulays b. Ghālib al-Shaybānī[317] said to him, "The Turks are between you and al-Junayd. If you go out, they will fall on you and take hold of you." Thus he wrote to al-Junayd, "I cannot go out." Al-Junayd wrote back to him, "O son of a stinking [1540]
mother, you will come out, for if not, I will send to you Shaddād b. Khālid al-Bāhilī," who was an enemy of Sawrah. "Therefore come, put so-and-so at Farrukhshādh[318] with five hundred bowmen, and

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315. Al-Hajarī al-Asbadhī of the 'Abdallāh b. Dārim subtribe of the Tamīm, he belongs to a family of probably at least partly Iranian descent originally from al-Baḥrayn. In 100(719), he was in charge of the finance office for Khurāsān, in 102(721) he sarcastically assailed the governor in an Arabic poem, and in 130(748) an 'Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb al-Hajarī is mentioned supporting Naṣr at Marw. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1354, 1430; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 286; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 234; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 171–2, V, 393.

316. Possibly the same as the Abū al-Salīl al-Bakrī who was the first to stand up in the mosque in 126(744) to oppose the rule of Naṣr and who denounced Marwān b. Muḥammad in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1856, 1917.

317. A famous Shī'ite warrior originally from al-Kūfah, he is reputed to have taken part in the revolt of al-Mukhtār as early as 65(685). He entered Khurāsān in 83(702), to which he had fled with the remnants of Ibn al-Ash'ath's rebels, and later fought in 93(712) and 102(721) against al-Sughd and the Turks. See Ṭabarī, I/2, 574, II/2, 1109, 1249, II/2, 1422.

318. Or: Farrukhshīdh. A village outside the wall of Samarqand, for which one of the city's gates was named. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 87–8.

stay close to the water and do not leave it." At this, Sawrah decided to set out. Al-Wajaf b. Khālid al-ʿAbdī said, "You are most certainly going to cause yourself and the Arabs to perish by your setting out, as well as causing the destruction or whoever is with you." Sawrah answered, "My lamb will not be removed from the oven until I go." ʿUbādah and Ḥulays said to him, "If you refuse except to set out, then take (the way) by the river." Sawrah answered, "I would not reach al-Junayd by way of the river in two days time, while there is between me and him in this direction (only) a night, so that I will reach him in the morning. Therefore, when the companies of people[319] are quiet (for the night), I will set out to traverse the distance." The Turks' spies came (back to their masters), bringing them the news, while Sawrah ordered the departure, leaving as his deputy in Samarqand Mūsā b. Aswad, one of the Banū Rabīʿah b. Ḥanẓalah. Sawrah went out with twelve thousand. By morning he was at the top of a mountain to which only a non-Arab named Kārtaqabad[320] had guided him. There the Khāqān met him when it was morning. Sawrah had traversed three *farsakhs*, while one *farsakh* remained between himself and al-Junayd.

According to Abū al-Dhayyāl: Sawrah fought the Turks in a lowland between hills. Both he and the Turks persevered until the heat (of day) became fierce.

Some say that Ghūrak said to the Khāqān, "Your day is a hot
[1541] day; therefore, do not fight until the sun is hot upon them, while they are wearing weapons which weigh them down." Thus the Khāqān did not fight, following instead Ghūrak's opinion. Rather, he set fire to the grass, stood against the Muslims and kept them from the water. Sawrah asked ʿUbādah, "What is your opinion, O Abū al-Salīl?" He answered, "My opinion is, by God, that there is no one of the Turks but that he desires spoil; therefore, slaughter these animals, burn these supplies, and bare the sword, and then they will leave the way clear for us."

According to Abū al-Dhayyāl: Sawrah said to ʿUbādah, "What is your opinion?" He answered, "I have given up my opinion." Sawrah asked, "What do you think now?" ʿUbādah replied, "That we go down, pointing our spears (outward in readiness), and march

319. Text: *rijl;* read: *zujal,* as Cairo ed. *Zujal* (sing. *zujlah)* could also here mean "conditions" rather than "companies of people."

320. Vocalization uncertain.

along slowly, for it is only one *farsakh* until we reach the camp." Sawrah said, "I am not strong enough to do this, nor are so-and-so and so-and-so," and he enumerated certain men, "but I am of the opinion that I should collect the cavalry along with whomever I think can fight and (with these) strike the Turks, whether I come through safely or perish." Thus he gathered the forces, and they attacked; the Turks were driven back. Dust was stirred up, so that they could not see, while behind the Turks were the flames, which they fell into, the enemy and the Muslims falling into them together. Sawrah also fell, his thigh having been smashed. The Muslims scattered. The dust cloud cleared while the men were thus scattered, so that the Turks cut them off and slew them. None of the Muslims escaped save two thousand, and it is (also) said one thousand. Among those who did escape was 'Āṣim b. 'Umayr al-Samarqandī, whom a man of the Turks recognized and gave [1542]
protection. Ḥulays b. Ghālib al-Shaybānī was martyred. An Arab commented, "Praise be to God, Ḥulays has been martyred! I saw him bombarding the House[321] in the days of al-Ḥajjāj saying, 'My surging force is an eagle, with brickbats and wooden shafts,' while a woman who was standing there, as often as he threw a stone, would say, 'O Lord, (let it strike) me and not Your House.' Now he has been martyred."

Al-Muhallab b. Ziyād al-'Ijlī fled with seven hundred men, including Quraysh b. 'Abdallāh al-'Abdī, to a district named al-Murghāb, where they fought the people of one of its fortresses. Al-Muhallab b. Ziyād was wounded, whereupon they put al-Wajaf b. Khālid in command. Then al-Ishkand,[322] the ruler of Nasaf, came against them with cavalry, Ghūrak also being with him. Ghūrak said, "O Wajaf, you have a safe-conduct." Quraysh said, "Do not trust them, but rather when night falls on us, we will go out in spite of them until we reach Samarqand, for if we are with them in the morning, they will slay us." But they disobeyed him and stayed; thus the Turks drove them along to the Khāqān, who said, "I will not allow the safe-conduct given by Ghūrak." Ghūrak said to al-Wajaf, "I am a slave of the Khāqān from his *shākiriyyah*." The Muslims asked, "Then why did you deceive us?" Thereupon

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321. That is, the Ka'bah.

322. The personal name of the ruler of Nasaf, possibly in charge of Sughdī refugee forces. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 85, 86–7 n.25.

al-Wajaf and his companions fought them but were slain, except for seventeen men who entered a walled garden. Evening fell, and the polytheists cut down a tree and laid it across the garden's en-
[1543] trance. Quraysh b. 'Abdallāh al-'Abdī came to the tree, threw it aside, and went out with three men. They slept in a sepulchral vault, hiding therein. Being too cowardly, the others did not go out and were killed on the morrow.

Sawrah was also slain. When he was killed, al-Junayd, coming out of the defile, headed for Samarqand in haste. Khālid b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb[323] said to him, "Go! Go!" while al-Mujashshir[324] b. Muzāḥim al -Sulamī was saying, "I plead with you by God, stay!" while al-Junayd was going forward. When al-Mujashshir saw that, he dismounted and took al-Junayd's bridle, saying, "By God, you will not go! Rather you will most certainly make camp whether you like it or not! We will not let you destroy us owing to the talk of this Hajarī! Make camp!" Therefore, al-Junayd made camp, while the people encamped also. But their encampment was not yet complete when the Turks appeared. Al-Mujashshir said, "Had they met us while we were going, would they not have extirpated us?" When it was morning, the two sides engaged in battle. A group of the Muslims fled, and the men retreated. Al-Junayd said, "O people, it is hellfire!" At this, they returned. Al-Junayd ordered a man to call out, "Any slave who fights is free!" At this, the slaves fought so fiercely that the people were astonished by it. One of them would take a saddle blanket, cut an opening in it (for his head) and put it around his neck to protect himself with it. The troops were pleased by what they saw of the perseverance of the slaves.

The enemy renewed the attack, but the men persisted until the enemy was beaten. Then the Muslims went on their way. Mūsā b. al-Na'ir said to the men, "Are you delighted by what you saw the slaves doing? By God, you will most certainly suffer a critical day from them (sometime)!" Al-Junayd went on his way. The enemy
[1544] took a man of the 'Abd al-Qays, tied him up and hung around his neck the head of Bal'ā' al-'Anbarī, the son of Mujāhid b. Bal'ā'.

323. Al-Hajarī from the 'Abdallāh b. Dārim. He rebelled with al-Ḥārith b. Surayj from 116(734) to 128(746), but then joined Naṣr's forces. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1572, 1582, 1928; also, note 315.

324. See note 284.

When the men found the 'Abdī, the Banū Tamīm took the head and buried it.

Al-Junayd passed on into Samarqand. He then took the families of those who had been with Sawrah to Marw, while he stayed in al-Sughd four months. The chief commanders of Khurāsān in war were: al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ al-Kharaqī, and 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb al-Hajarī. Al-Mujashshir would camp the men according to their divisions and also position the outposts, no one having the like of his wise opinion regarding that. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ, if some grave development occurred during war, was second to none in his wise opinion. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb was in charge of mobilization for battle. There were also men of the mawālī who were the like of those in wise opinion, sound advice and knowledge about warfare, including al-Faḍl b. Bassām, the mawlā of the Banū Layth,[325] 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym and al-Bakhtarī b. Mujāhid, the mawlā of the Banū Shaybān.[326]

When the Turks had gone away to their country, al-Junayd dispatched Sayf b. Waṣṣāf al-'Ijlī from Samarqand to Hishām, but Sayf was too cowardly to go, as he feared the way, and he asked to be relieved (of his mission). Thereupon al-Junayd relieved him and sent Nahār b. Tawsi'ah,[327] one of the Banū Taym al-Lāt, and Zumayl b. Suwayd al-Murrī, (of) the Murrah of the Ghaṭafān. Al-Junayd wrote to Hishām, "Sawrah disobeyed me. I ordered him to stick to the water, but he did not do so. Thus his forces scattered from him, a group coming to me at Kishsh, a group (going) to Nasaf and [1545]
a group to Samarqand, while Sawrah and rest of his forces were stricken." Hishām then summoned Nahār b. Tawsi'ah to ask him

325. Surely the brother of Ibrāhīm b. Bassām. See note 301. Al-Faḍl first appears in 93(712) or possibly 91(710), where he is recorded only as Ibn Bassām al-Laythī. In 104(722), he was an adviser of the governor Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1222, III/2, 1443; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 246.

326. From the class of government officials who remained loyal to the Umayyads, he later appears with Naṣr b. Sayyār as the latter's adviser and secretary in 120(738) and 130(748), when he was executed by Abū Muslim. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1661, 1666, 1995.

327. One of the best-known Khurāsānī poets and the most famous of them to come from the Bakr. Probably from al-Baṣrah originally, he first appears in the entourage of al-Muhallab in 82(701) and subsequently in the entourages of many of the governors of Khurāsān until 120(738). His poems nearly always reflect support for the current governor, whoever that might be. See 'Aṭwān, *al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī Khurāsān*, 280–9; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r wa Shu'arā'*, I, 537–8.

about the news, and the latter told him what he had witnessed. Nahār b. Tawsi'ah then said:

By your life, you did not favor me when you sent me
But rather you only exposed me to dangerous spots.
You invited a group to do it,[328] but they were afraid of mounting it,
While I was a man skillful in riding[329] terrors.
Thus I became sure—if God did not forbid—that I
Would be the food of beasts of prey or birds that circle overhead,[330]
The Companion of 'Irāk, who was the easiest for you
To lose, whom you had wrapped up with leaves of paper,[331]
For I—even if you prefer 'Irāk owing to blood relationship—
Am more greatly preferred by the favor of the Caliphs.
In the time of 'Uthmān, we came as delegations, and before him,
And we were (ever) the possessors of glory both ancient and newly acquired.

'Irāk, a cousin of al-Junayd through their fathers, was with them in the delegation.

Hishām wrote to al-Junayd, "I have just sent to you twenty thousand men as reinforcement, ten thousand from the forces of al-Baṣrah under 'Amr b. Muslim, and from the forces of al-Kūfah ten thousand under 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym,[332] besides weapons including thirty thousand spears and a like number of shields. Enlist, for there is no limit for you in enlistment up to fifteen thousand men."[333]

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328. That is, to undertake the mission.

329. Text: *rikabuh*; read: *rakkabah*, as in Cairo ed.

330. That is, vultures.

331. Apparently a reference to their dangerous mission of carrying letters without adequate protection.

332. Both of these commanders were Khurāsānīs.

333. M.A. Shaban has translated this obscure and crucial sentence differently: "Enlist (only) 15,000 men because enlistment is purposeless to you." He claims that this command actually entailed a dropping of tribesmen from the army list in Khurāsān. Despite the arguments he adduces, probably the crisis made acute by the Battle of the Defile, (which may have been even worse for the Muslims than is indicated by al-Ṭabarī here), can hardly have led to the dropping of any possible Muslim forces. Therefore, we find little justification for Shaban's view here and follow the more traditional interpretation. See Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 114–7; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 75.

It is said that al-Junayd dispatched the delegation to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, and then Khālid sent a delegation to Hishām to say, "Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr went out hunting with his companions, whereupon the Turks beset them and thus they were stricken." When Hishām was informed of the calamity of Sawrah, he said, "We are God's, and to Him we return![334] The disaster of Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr in Khurāsān and of al-Jarrāḥ at al-Bāb!" [1546]

Naṣr b. Sayyār fought bravely that day, though his sword was broken and the straps of his stirrups were cut, for he took his stirrup straps and beat a man with them until he wore him out. On that day, 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī and eleven men who were with him fell into the flames with Sawrah. Among those in the forces of Sawrah who escaped were one thousand men. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān[335] said, "I saw tents built between the sky and the earth and asked, 'Whose are these?' They told me, 'Those of 'Abdallāh b. Bisṭām and his forces.' Then they were slain on the morrow. Later a man said, 'I passed through that place some time after that and found the fragrance of musk emanating.'"

But al-Junayd did not thank Naṣr for the bravery he had shown. Therefore Naṣr said:

If you envy me for bravely fighting for you
Someday, then the like of my bravery has brought upon me envy.
God forbids, Who by His power has raised
My heel over you and Who has given (me) strength above you,[336]
As well as my smiting the Turks for you on the day you were parted
In the defile by the sword, until it had passed over the summit.

On the Day of the Defile, al-Junayd started into the defile, sup-

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334. Qur'ān 2:156.

335. Possibly the son, but more likely a grandson, of the Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhilī mentioned by Crone, though she entirely omits the latter's well-attested role in the conquest of Khurāsān. See Crone, *Slaves*, 104–5; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 501; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 173; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 46.

336. Compare these two verses with those of Naṣr on p. 1553, below.

posing that no one would come against him from the mountains. He sent Ibn al-Shikhkhīr ahead in charge of the vanguard, while
[1547] he himself undertook (to command) the rear. He did not set out wings (at all). The Khāqān approached and defeated the vanguard, which lost killed whom it lost killed. The Khāqān came at al-Junayd from the latter's left, while the Jabghūyah[337] came against the right. Men from the Azd and the Tamīm were struck down, while the Turks also captured tents and structures belonging to al-Junayd. Al-Junayd, when it was evening, gave an order to a man of his own house, saying to him, "Walk among the ranks and the siege engines, listening for what the men are saying and how they are." The man did so and then returned to al-Junayd to report, "I perceived them to be well in spirit, reciting poetry to each other and reading the Qur'ān." That pleased al-Junayd, wherefore he praised God.

It is said that on the Day of the Defile, the slaves took a stand at the side of the camp, when the Turks and Sughdīs had come near and were pouring down on it. The slaves met them and, battling them with tent poles, slew nine of the enemy, whose spoils al-Junayd gave to them.

Ibn al-Sijf said about the Day of the Defile, intending Hishām:

Remember orphans lost in the land of the Turks,
Emaciated, as if they were partridges in their enclosure,
And have mercy, and if not, then reckon it[338] a ruined community
Having neither any breath left in it, nor weight.
Do not hope at all for the continuation of time after them,
[1548] Though hope be extended to a man as long as he is alive.
They met regiments from the Khāqān, marked out with banners,
For whom the expanse of the plain and the mountain were narrow.
After they had looked upon them for a little without crying out,
They held out their hands to God, supplicating.

337. Or apparently originally Jabghū. He was the paramount ruler of all Ṭukhāristān in pre-Islamic times, but his influence had been curtailed and was at this time confined to Upper Ṭukhāristān, the center of his territory, where his capital was at Warwālīz, near modern Qundūz, east of Balkh. He seems to have been of Hephthalite Turkish origin. Probably the Jabghū was not present at the Battle of the Defile. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 8–9, 74; Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 11–3.

338. That is, the community of Khurāsānī Muslims.

They paid to the Lord of Moses a true homage:
There was neither doubt in their hearts nor confusion.

Al-Junayd remained at Samarqand that year. The Khāqān went off to Bukhārā, where Qaṭan b. Qutaybah was in command. The people were afraid for Qaṭan on account of the Turks. When al-Junayd consulted them, some said, "Stay in Samarqand and write to the Commander of the Faithful that he supply you with troops." Some said, "You (should) go along until you reach Rabinjan,[339] then from it you go to Kishsh, then from it you go to Nasaf. From it you reach the territory of Zamm and, crossing the Oxus you descend to Āmul, whence you take the road to Qaṭan."[340]

After this, al-Junayd sent to 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh, saying, "People have been giving me conflicting advice." Then al-Junayd informed him of what they said and asked, "What do you think?" 'Abdallāh then demanded of al-Junayd that he not oppose him in what he advised him to do, whether it concerned setting out, encamping, or fighting. Al-Junayd said, "I agree." 'Abdallāh said, "I seek from you certain actions." Al-Junayd asked, "What are they?" 'Abdallāh continued, "That you dig a trench around wherever you encamp. Also do not forget to carry water even if you are on the bank of a river. And that you obey me regarding [1549] your encamping and your setting out." Al-Junayd gave him (the undertaking) that he wanted. 'Abdallāh said:

"As for what they have advised you to do regarding staying in Samarqand until help reaches you, help will come too slow for you. And if you set out, taking the people by another way,[341] you will sap their strength, so that they will be too broken to face their enemy, and the Khāqān will make bold against you. Today he is trying to open (the gates of) Bukhārā, but the Muslims have not opened (them) for him. But if you take another way, the people will scatter from you, hurrying to their homes. The people of Bukhārā will hear of it and surrender to their enemy. However, if you take the mightiest way, the enemy will be in awe of you. My advice to

339. A town on the road between Samarqand and Bukhārā on the Zarafshān River, twelve or thirteen *farsakhs*, west of Samarqand. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96–7.

340. This circuitous route is meant to show the cowardice of those proposing it. See Le Strange, *Lands*, map IX.

341. Than the one 'Abdallāh is suggesting.

you is that you direct yourself towards the families of those who were present among Sawrah's forces at the defile, so that you may divide them according to their subtribes and transport them with you. I hope that by this God will help you against your enemy. My advice is also that you give to every man who stays behind in Samarqand one thousand dirhams and a horse."

Al-Junayd followed his advice, leaving as his deputy in Samarqand 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr with eight hundred (men), four hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry, whom he supplied with weapons. They reviled 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, saying, "He has exposed us to the Khāqān and the Turks; he does not want other than our destruction!" 'Ubaydallah[342] b. Ḥabīb asked Ḥarb b. Ṣubḥ, "How many of you were in the rear today?" Ḥarb answered, "Sixteen hundred." 'Ubaydallāh declared, "We have just been exposed to de-
[1550] struction!"

Then al-Junayd ordered the families to be transported. He went out, the people being with him. In charge of his advanced detachments were al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā' al-'Absī and Ziyād b. Khayrān al-Ṭā'ī. Al-Junayd also sent al-Ashhab b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥanẓalī ahead with ten (men) from the vanguard of the troops, telling him, "As often as you go a stage, send a man back to me to provide me with information."

Al-Junayd went on his way. But when he was at Qaṣr al-Rīḥ,[343] 'Aṭā' al-Dabūsī[344] seized al-Junayd's bridle to hold him back. At this Hārūn al-Shāshī, the mawlā of the Banū Khāzim,[345] beat 'Aṭā' over the head with a spear, until he broke it on his head. Al-Junayd said to Hārūn, "Leave al-Dabūsī alone!" He continued, "What is the matter, O Dabūsī?" Al-Dabūsī answered, "Look for the weak-

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342. Text: *'Abdallāh*; read: *'Ubaydallāh*. See note 315.

343. Unidentified place on the road between Samarqand and Bukhārā.

344. Probably of the Tamīm, he also figured in Sa'īd al- Ḥarashī's campaign in 104(722) and later supported Ibn Surayj. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1442.

345. Text: *Ḥāzim*; read: *Khāzim*. No Banū Ḥāzim can be identified from the genealogy books. On the other hand the descendants of Ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī were prominent and had many mawālī. This is supported by manuscript B, where *Ibn Ḥāzim* replaces *Banū Ḥāzim*; thus *Ibn Khāzim* could be the original reading. The violently pro-Qaysi politics of this Hārūn also agree with what we know of the family of Ibn Khāzim. This Hārūn is almost certainly identical with the Hārūn b. al-Siyāwush or Siyāwush who enthusiastically supported Naṣr, in 121(739) and 123(741). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1693, 1722.

est old man among your soldiers, arm him with a complete set of arms, gird him with a sword, quiver, and shield, and give him a spear, then make us go at the speed of his walk, for we are not able to stand being driven, fighting and swiftness of march while we are on foot." Al-Junayd then did that, and no one bothered the troops until they had gone out from the dangerous places.

When al-Junayd drew near to al-Ṭawāwīs,[346] the reconnaissance parties came back (with news) about the approach of the Khāqān. They opposed him at Karmīniyah[347] on the first day of Ramaḍān (113) (November 6, 731).[348] When al-Junayd had gone from Karmīniyah, Muḥammad b. al-Zandī[349] came with the *asāwirah*[350] at the end of the night. When he was at the edge of the desert of Karmīniyah, he saw the enemy's weakness and thus returned to al-Junayd to inform him. Al-Junayd's herald called out, [1551]
"Will the registered[351] not go out to their enemy?" Then the people went out, and the battle began. A man called out, "O people, you have become Ḥarūrīs[352] and thus have risked your lives!"

'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh came to al-Junayd laughing. Al-Junayd said to him, "This is not a day for laughing!" He was answered, "He (only) laughed out of wonder. Praise be to God who has not made you meet these (Turks) except in mountains causing thirst, they being on a mountain top and exhausted at the end of the day, while you have made a camp fortified by a trench, and

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346. An important city seven or eight *farsakhs* northeast of Bukhārā but within the great wall of that oasis. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 98–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 462.

347. A very large town between al-Ṭawāwīs and Dabūsiyyah, the present Karmine, surrounded by fertile lands watered by canals from the Zarafshān River. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 97–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 468.

348. This date can better be assigned to 113(731) than to 112(730). See note 299.

349. Tex: *al-Randī*; read: *al-Zandī*. This is the nearest possible reading attested by the genealogists and very probable, as it refers to Zandanah, a town four *farsakhs* north of Bukhārā, west of al-Ṭawāwīs and southwest of Karmīniyah. That al-Junayd would employ a local scout is very likely. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 511; Le Strange, *Lands*, 462 and map IX.

350. An Arabicized Persian word meaning "heavy, mailed cavalry." Some *asāwirah* became Muslims as a group in the earliest phase of the Islamic state in Iran and continued to form a separate group in al-Baṣrah, where they became a subtribe of the Tamīm, and probably in Khurāsān. It is presumably these, or other Iranian cavalrymen, that are meant here. See Morony, *Iraq*, 198, 207–8, 528.

351. That is, in the dīwān.

352. That is, Khārijites. Implications of the line are obscure, except that the Khārijites had a reputation for fighting furiously.

you have supplies with you." Thus the Turks fought (only) a little and then retreated. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh had said to al-Junayd while they were fighting, "Break camp and depart," whereupon al-Junayd asked him, "And is there any way?" 'Abdallāh answered, "Yes, you go with your standard about three *ghalwas*.[353] The Khāqān would have wished you to stay put and thus gather his forces around you when he wanted." Therefore, al-Junayd gave orders to set out. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh was in command of the rear. He sent a message to al-Junayd saying, "Make camp." Al-Junayd replied, "Shall I make camp in a waterless place?" 'Abdallāh again sent him a message, "If you do not make camp, you will lose Khurāsān." Thereupon he made camp, commanding the men to make a provision of water, whereupon the troops—the infantry and the archers—went in two columns, drawing water and passing the night. When they arose in the morning, they departed. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh said:

"You, O Arabs, are (in) four divisions, which must not find fault with one another. No fourth can desert its place. There is a vanguard, which is (also) the center, two wings and a rear. If
[1552] the Khāqān gathers his cavalry and infantry and then hits a certain division of yours, namely the rear, it will be your destruction, and it is likely that he will do so. I expect that today. Therefore, strengthen the rear with cavalry."

Thus al-Junayd sent (there) the cavalry of the Banū Tamīm, including the armored cavalry. The Turks came to assault the rear when the Muslims had drawn near to al-Ṭawāwīs. They fought, the battle becoming severe between them. Salm b. Aḥwaz attacked one of the Turkish nobles, slaying him.

The Turks drew a bad omen (from the outcome of the battle) and went away from al-Ṭawāwīs. The Muslims went on their way, coming to Bukhārā on the day of (the feast of) al-Mihrijān.[354]

They met us with Bukhārī dirhams, giving them out ten to each man. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Khālid[355] said, "I saw 'Abdallāh b. Abī

353. See note 132.

354. A Zoroastrian festival associated with the autumnal equinox, Mihrijān should fall in September, but here occurs on about November 7. Apparently the Zoroastrian festivals had become unsynchronized with the seasons. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 461n; *EI*[1], s.v. Mihr.

355. Abū Khālid al-Ḥanafī, a judge of Marw and a traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 432-3; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 323.

'Abdallāh after his death in a dream. He said, 'Tell people about me by (citing) my (sound) advice on the Day of the Defile.'"

Al-Junayd use to mention Khālid b. 'Abdallāh saying, "A rag among rags; a man without family, the son of a man without family; a lonely man *(qull)*, the son of a lonely man; a thin-bellied one *(hayfah)* among the thin-bellied." It is claimed that *hayfah* means 'hyena,' that *'ujrah*[356] means 'pig' and that *qull* means 'solitary one.'

The troops with 'Amr b. Muslim al-Bāhilī from the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah and with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī[357] from among the inhabitants of al-Kūfah came while al-Junayd was at al-Ṣaghāniyān. He sent with them al-Ḥawtharah b. Yazīd al-'Anbarī and those whom he had deputed (to go) with him among [1553]
the merchants and others, commanding them to bear away the families of the people of Samarqand but to leave the fighters there, and they did so.

Abū Ja'far:[358] It has been said that the Battle of the Defile between al-Junayd and the Khāqān was in the year 113.[359]

Naṣr b. Sayyār said, remembering the Day of the Defile and the slaves' fighting:

I have lived while those who envy me are many.
O Owner of the Ascending Stairways,[360] do not lessen their number!
If you[361] envy me for the like of (my) bravery for you
One day, then the like of my bravery will have drawn envy to me.
God, Who has raised my heel over you by his power
And has equipped (me) better than you, refuses (except that I be so).[362]
I charged the enemy with wounded horses,

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356. This word does not appear in the text just cited by al-Ṭabarī, as is stated in a footnote in the Leiden edition. Unless it originally occurred earlier in the text before being lost in transmission, its mention here is superfluous as explanation.

357. Text: *al-'Āmirī*; read: *al-Ghāmidī*. See note 77.

358. That is, al-Ṭabarī himself.

359. As we have seen this is the correct date. See note 248.

360. A title of God. See Qur'ān 70:3.

361. Plural, referring to the enviers.

362. Compare this and the preceding verse with Naṣr's verses on p. 1546, above.

Until they took (an upper) hand against their enviers.
Who is he among you, in the defile, when the enemy came,
Who did not head for the main part of the baggage as (his) goal?[363]
You did not thereby keep the command from God, nor
Did you perseverantly seek the good (reward)[364] of what He has promised.
Nothing prevented you from sitting in camp at the time of hardship
Except the slaves breaking wooden staves by smiting (with them).[365]
Should you have not thanked my defense of your Junayd
When the spears were clashing, the meteor of war having
[1554] blazed up?

Ibn 'Irs al-'Abdī, praising Naṣr on the Day of the Defile and blaming al-Junayd, because Naṣr performed outstandingly on that day, said:

O Naṣr, you are hero of all of Nizār;[366]
Yours are the brilliant deeds and highest action.
You cleared away anxiety from all the tribes
In the defile, when they had submitted and been humbled.
On the day of al-Junayd, when the spears were contending,
The throat bloody and the banners brightly flapping,
You did not cease charging them with a free soul,
Until their multitude opened up and broke apart.
All the people after it are your freedmen;
Yours are the noble and exalted qualities all together.

Al-Shar'abī al-Ṭā'ī said:

I remembered Hind in a strange country:
O how much longing you have! Will you ever be reunited?
I remembered her, though al-Shāsh lay between me and her,

363. Rather than fighting.
364. That is, martyrdom is God's path.
365. That is, the troops fought only because the slaves were putting them to shame by fighting well.
366. Note that the 'Abdī poet uses Nizār, the nearest shared ancestor of his tribe with Naṣr, to include himself and his people with Naṣr's group.

And the defile of ʿIṣām,[367] while destinies were being fulfilled,[368]
A country wherein is the Khāqān, his slow-marching armies huge in numbers,
And iron-helmeted Naylān[369] with seventy thousand men.
When the Khāqān moves and his troops go forth,
(Many) deaths come near to us at that time. [1555]
There, Hind, we do not amount to half of them,
Nor do we have, O Hind, anything we covet from the enemy.
Have I not seen many a fleshy young woman
Whom an ugly, fat-faced, small-eared Sughdī was driving along (as a captive)?
I try to protect her when her intimate friend has turned away;
She calls the Muslims to herself, making herself heard.
She calls in her loudest voice to the warriors of her people,
'Is there not a man among you who is jealous (for me) and will return (to rescue me)?
Is there not a noble man among you who will bring me back,
Who realizes that death in some instances profits?'
They did not answer her, except that her veil
In the palm of the young man in the midst of the squadrons is more hideous.
To God I complain about a shrinking in their[370] hearts
And a terror which has filled their insides and is spreading.
Who will carry from me a letter (on) paper
To Khālid before we are divided up (as booty):
That, like our remnants, our amīr,
If we count him, is the humiliated one brought low. [1556]
They[371] made the Khāqān and his soldiers greedy for us:

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367. This place, named for ʿIṣām b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bāhilī, was in the southern part of Farghānah in the district of Isfarah. It had only been briefly held by the Muslims under Qutaybah and then lost following a possible defeat in Farghānah unmentioned in Ṭabarī. By mentioning this place, the poet seems to be exaggerating the length of separation from his beloved as well as stirring up memories of past debacles to compare with al-Junayd's. See Gibb, *Arab Conquest*, 49, 62; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 160–1, 186.

368. By death in the present battle.

369. Abū Unūjūr, the cousin of the king of Farghānah through their fathers and the king's governor of Isfarah in 103(721). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1440, 1442.

370. That is, the Muslim fighters.

371. An ambiguous "they," referring to traitors or bunglers on the Muslim side.

Should not we wish we were dry and broken grass shaken (by the wind)?

Ibn 'Irs's name is Khālid b. al-Mu'ārik of the Banū Ghanm b. Wadī'ah b. Lukayz b. Afṣā.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—an informant from the 'Abd al-Qays: Ibn 'Irs's mother was a slave girl; therefore, his brother Tamīm b. al-Mu'ārik sold him to 'Amr b. Laqīṭ, one of the Banū 'Āmir b. al-Ḥārith.[372] Being about to die, 'Amr freed him, saying, "O Abū Ya'qūb, how much wealth do I have in your keeping?" He answered, "Eighty thousand (dirhams)." 'Amr said, "You are free, and what is in your hands is yours."

'Amr used to live in Marw al-Rūdh.[373] The 'Abd al-Qays had fought with each other concerning Ibn 'Irs and sent him back to his people. Ibn 'Irs said to al-Junayd:

Where are the protectors in war of a group
Who were the beauty of the angry vanguard?
They have perished according to destinies which they came to,
And the wandering one granted a respite (from death) is like he who has perished.
The eye causes its tears to flow copiously:
There is nothing to hold back the eye's tears.
Look: do you see that the dead ever return,
[1557] Or do you see in time anything everlasting?
Formerly, our strength used to be feared,
When we would throw back defeated enemy ranks against those still coming on,
Until we were tried by that which blemished us
After (we had possessed) mighty, overwhelming strength.
Like he who hocks his camel without swerving
At first, being enraged and exhausted,
You split open a thing whose breach could not be repaired
With an abundantly numerous, assembled army.

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372. Of the 'Abd al-Qays like Ibn 'Irs, he was in 83(702) Ibn al-Ash'ath's governor of Kirmān, whence he presumably fled to Khurāsān, where he was spared by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's clemency to the Yaman and the Rabī'ah. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1105.

373. An important town of the upper Murghāb River about 160 miles south of Marw, it was a center for the Banū Tamīm. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 404–5; Ṭabarī, passim.

You weep because of war[374] when it has shown itself:[375]
May you be mutilated and cut up as a commander!
You abandoned us, pieces of a slaughtered beast
Which the slaughterer divides for a round-breasted girl.
Drawn swords rose,
Cutting off (arms at the elbow) between the upper and lower arms.
Heads fell continuously from their blows
Between two sides flashing with lightning, thundering.
While you were like an infant girl in her (women's) tent,
Not ever knowing the trick of the trickster. [1558]
We are people whose war is difficult:
It blasts (both) the standing and the sitting.
Samarqand and its contingents have become
The talk of (both) those absent and those present.
How many a resolute (warrior) is buried in the defile,
Robust of powers, a possessor of strength, praiseworthy,
Who sought relief in the disaster and engaged blindly in the clamor (of battle),
Neither fearstruck, feeble nor holding back.
If only you[376] were on the Day of the Defile in a pit
Covered over with hard, dry mud!
War and its sons play with you
As hawks play with quails coming (to water).
Your heart flew, owing to the battle, out of fear;
Your flying heart will not return.
You should not ever have thought the battle on the day of the forenoon
(To be) like your drinking tangy wine with ice.
I hate the wide beauty of your eye,
As well as a face in a corrupt body.
Junayd, your stock is not attributable
To an (authentic) origin, nor was your ancestor ascendant (in stature). [1559]
Fifty thousand were slain having gone astray,
While you cried out for them like a shepherd for lost sheep.

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374. That is, the disaster of the defile.
375. Lit., "when it has uncovered its leg."
376. That is, al-Junayd.

Do not press at all to meet with war:
You are not to be praised in rushing upon (the enemy).
I have put on him[377] as a collar around his neck,
the collar of a lone, warbling pigeon,
A poem which a poet penned,
That the posts might hurry it to Khālid.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī led the pilgrimage.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar:

It has been stated that the one who led the pilgrimage in this year was Sulaymān b. Hishām.[378] The governors of the main provinces in this year were the same as those who were (in office) in the year 111, whom we have mentioned before.

377. That is, the messenger of Ibn ʿIrs to Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh.

378. Abū al-Ghamr, the son of the Caliph Hishām. He was later famous for his campaigns against the Byzantines as well as for his army of personal retainers, the Dhakwāniyyah, which were a mainstay of the regime of Yazīd b. al-Walīd and which he used against Marwān b. Muḥammad. He was executed by the ʿAbbāsids 132(750). See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 168; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 339, 375–6, 381–2, 554; Shaban, *Islamic History* 600-750, 147, 154, 157, 161–3.

The Events of the Year 113

(March 15, 731 - March 2, 732)

Among the events in it was the death of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht[379] while he was with al-Baṭṭāl 'Abdallāh[380] in the land of the Byzantines.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Abdal-'Azīz b. 'Umar: [1560]
'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht went out campaigning with al-Baṭṭāl in the year 113, but al-Baṭṭāl's forces were defeated and fell back. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, however, tried to make his horse turn again to attack, saying, "I have never seen a horse more cowardly than it! May God spill my blood if I do not spill yours!" Then he threw his helmet off his head and shouted, "I am 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht! Is it from Paradise that you flee?" Then he advanced against the throats of the enemy. As he passed a man, he was saying, "I am so thirsty!" The man said, "Go forward, water is before you." Thus he charged into the enemy and was slain along with his horse.

Among the events was what Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik did in splitting up his armies in the lands of the Khāqān. Thereby cities

379. Abū 'Ubaydah. A Meccan mawlā of the Marwānids, also a transmitter of ḥadīth. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 304–5.

380. The great Muslim frontier fighter against the Byzantines and an epic hero, he conquered Gangra in Paphlagonia in 109(728) and fell near Akroinos in central Anatolia, apparently in the summer of 122(740). See *EI*², s.v. al-Baṭṭāl, 'Abd Allāh.

and fortresses were conquered at his hands, (many) of their people being killed, taken prisoner, and made captive. A great number of the Turks burned themselves up with fire. Those who were behind the mountains of Balanjar submitted to Maslamah; also, the son of the Khāqān was slain.

Among the events was the campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām against the territory of the Byzantines. He stationed himself in the vicinity of Mar'ash,[381] then returned.

In this year a group of the missionaries of the Banū al-'Abbās went to Khurāsān. Al-Junayd arrested a man from among them, killing him. He declared, "Whoever of them is found, his blood may be shed with impunity."

Pilgrimage and Governors

Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in this
[1561] year according to the statement of Abu Ma'shar.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: Al-Wāqidī said likewise.

Some have said that the one who led the pilgrimage in this year was Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī. The governors of the major provinces in this year were those who had been their governors in the year 112(730), of whom mention has been made by us already.

381. Formerly the Byzantine Germanikeia, this important city of northeast Cilicia in the Taurus foothills is still Maraş in modern Turkey. See *EI*[1], s.v. Mar'ash.

The Events of the Year 114

(March 3, 732—February 20, 733)

Among the events were the summer campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām (against the Byzantines) on the left flank and the summer campaign of Sulaymān b. Hishām on the right flank. It has been recorded that Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām took the outer city of Aqrun[382] and that 'Abdallāh al-Baṭṭāl met a force under Constantine,[383] defeating them and taking Constantine prisoner. Sulaymān b. Hishām reached Qaysariyyah. In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed Ibrāhīm b. Hishām from al-Madīnah, appointing as its governor (instead) Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam.[384]

According to al-Wāqidī: Khālid b. Abd al-Malik came to al-Madīnah on the fifteenth of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal (March 16, 732). The governorship of Ibrāhīm b. Hishām in al-Madīnah lasted eight years.

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382. Akroinos, now Afyonkarahisar, in western Anatolia. See Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 54; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 101, 103; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 509–10; *EI*², s.v. Afyūn Ḳara Hiṣār and s.v. al-Baṭṭāl, 'Abd Allāh.

383. Not, of course, the heir to the Byzantine throne, the future Constantine V (718–775).

384. Al-Umawī, he is the second cousin of the Caliph Hishām. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 170–1; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, I, 171–4. Ibn al-Kalbī has a slightly variant genealogy for him. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, I, 10, II, 340.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī[385] was made governor of Mecca.

According to certain authorities: Rather Muḥammad b. Hishām was made governor of Mecca in the year 113. When Ibrāhīm was dismissed, Muḥammad b. Hishām was confirmed as governor of Mecca.

[1562] In this year, the plague reportedly broke out at Wāsiṭ.[386]

In it, Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik returned from al-Bāb after defeating the Khāqān. He built al-Bāb and fortified what was there.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Hishām appointed Marwān b. Muḥammad[387] governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān.

There is a difference of opinion about who led the pilgrimage in this year.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam led the pilgrimage in the year 114 while he was governor of al-Madīnah.

According to certain authorities: Muḥammad b. Hishām led the pilgrimage in this year while governor of Mecca. Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik stayed at home that year and did not attend the pilgrimage.

Al-Wāqidī—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[388]—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān[389] said the same.

According to al-Wāqidī—Abū Maʿshar: Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in the year 114 while Muḥammad b. Hishām was governing Mecca—we regard this as the correct version.

The governors of the major provinces in this year were the same

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385. Maternal uncle of the Caliph Hishām, executed by Yūsuf b. ʿUmar 125(743). See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 329; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 354.

386. The great military base of the Umayyads, a large city in its own right, halfway between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah in southern Iraq. See *EI*[1], s.v. Wāsiṭ.

387. Later the last Umayyad caliph 126(744)–132(750). See *EI*[1], s.v. Marwān II b. Muḥammad.

388. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhramah al-Zuhrī al-Madanī ca. 95(714)–170(786), a traditionist from a family of traditionists and also a scion of a noble Qurashī lineage. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 171–3.

389. Abū Muḥammad al-Madanī ca. 60(680)-145(762), the famous traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 399–400.

as those in the year before, except that the governor of al-Madīnah in this year was Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik, the governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif was Muḥammad b. Hishām, and the governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad.

The Events of the Year

115

(FEBRUARY 21, 733—FEBRUARY 9, 734)

Among the events in it was the campaign of Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām
[1563] in the land of the Byzantines.

In it, the plague broke out in Syria.

Pilgrimage and Governors

Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl led the pilgrimage in this year while he was governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit — his informant — Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā — Abū Maʿshar.

The governors of the major provinces in this year were the same as those in the year 114, except that there is a difference of opinion about the governor of Khurāsān in this year.

According to al-Madāʾinī: Its governor was al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

According to certain authorities: Its governor was ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym al-Murrī. He who has said that claims that al-Junayd died in this year, naming as his successor ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym, but as for al-Madāʾinī, he reported that the death of al-Junayd was in the year 116.

In this year, a severe drought and famine befell the people in

Khurāsān. Al-Junayd wrote to the rural districts, "Marw used to be secure and tranquil, its provision coming to it abundantly from every place, but it became ungrateful for the blessings of God![390] Therefore, bring food to it!"

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: This year al-Junayd gave a man a dirham with which he bought a loaf (of bread). Al-Junayd said to them,[391] "You complain of hunger and of a loaf for a dirham! When I was in India, a grain of cereal used to sell by piece for a dirham!" He said, "Marw is as God said, 'And God strikes a parable: a city which used to be secure and tranquil.'"[392]

390. Qur'ān 16:112.
391. Apparently meaning "those present."
392. Qur'ān 16:112.

The Events of the Year 116

(FEBRUARY 10, 734 - JANUARY 30, 735)

[1564] Among these were what happened in the summer campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām in the territory of the Byzantines.

In this year, a severe plague occurred in Iraq and Syria, the severest of it being—according to what has been reported—at Wāsiṭ.

In it occurred the death of al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and (the beginning of) the governorship of 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī in Khurāsān.

The Matter of al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī and 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilāli in Khurāsān

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān married al-Fāḍilah bt. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. At this, Hishām became angry with al-Junayd and appointed 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh as governor of Khurāsān (instead). As al-Junayd was suffering from dropsy, Hishām said to 'Āṣim, "If you reach him while he still has a last spark of life, cause his soul to depart." But when 'Āṣim arrived, al-Junayd had died.

(Certain authorities) report that Jabalah b. Abī Rawwād came in to visit al-Junayd when he was sick. Al-Junayd said, "O Ja-

balah, what are the people saying?" I[393] said, "They are in pain for the governor." He said, "This is not what I asked you about. What are they saying?" as he pointed towards Syria with his hand. I said, "Yazīd b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī[394] is coming to Khurāsān." Al-Junayd said, "That (man) is the lord of the Syrians." Then he asked, "And who else?" I said, "'Iṣmah or 'Iṣām," hinting at 'Āṣim. He said, "If 'Āṣim comes, he will be a trying enemy. There is (to be) no greeting for him nor welcome." [1565]

Al-Junayd died in that illness of his in al-Muḥarram of the year 116 (February 10 - March 11, 734). He left behind as his deputy 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym. 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh came and imprisoned 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym and al-Junayd's officials, torturing them. Al-Junayd's death was at Marw. Abū al-Juwayriyyah 'Īsā b. 'Iṣmah[395] said, eulogizing him:

Generosity and al-Junayd have perished together;
    Upon generosity and al-Junayd be peace!
They have both become buried in the the ground of Marw
    As long as the pigeons sing on the branches.
You two were the pleasure of noble persons; thus when
    You died, generosity died as did the noble.

Then Abū al-Juwayriyyah came to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, praising him, but Khālid said to him, "Did you not say: 'Generosity and al-Junayd have perished together?' You will get nothing from us." Thereupon Abū al-Juwayriyyah left, saying:

The shining one of the horizons continues to bear us
    To 'Umārah and the strong-necked camels fat of hump.[396]

(This is from) a poem in which he praised 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym, the cousin of al-Junayd through their fathers. 'Umārah was the

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393. That is, Jabalah.

394. Of the Sahm b. Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh b. Rahā' branch of the Madhḥij. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 265, II, 596; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 483. Curiously, a man with the same names is represented as active from 39(659) to 58(678), when he is reported killed. See Ṭabarī, VI/1, 3448, 1/2, 86, 173, 181.

395. Possibly the same as Abū al-Juwayriyyah, the mawlā of the Juhaynah, a Kūfan poet in 122(740), but pro-Yaman. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1711.

396. Or possibly, "To 'Umārah and the lofty, broad-based mountains," though this seems less likely.

grandfather of Abū al-Haydhām,[397] the leader in the factionalism in Syria.

'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh arrived and imprisoned 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym and the officials of al-Junayd, torturing them.

In this year al-Ḥārith b. Surayj rebelled, and war occurred be-
[1566] tween him and 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh.

About the Revolt of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj

According to 'Alī—his authorities: When 'Āṣim came to Khurāsān as governor, al-Ḥārith b. Surayj advanced from al-Nakhudh[398] until he reached al-Fāryāb.[399] He sent Bishr b. Jurmūz ahead of him.

'Āṣim sent al-Khaṭṭāb b. Muḥriz al-Sulamī, Manṣūr b. 'Umar b. Abī al-Kharqā' al-Sulamī,[400] Hilāl b. 'Ulaym al-Tamīmī,[401] al-Ashhab al-Ḥanẓalī, Jarīr b. Hamyān al-Sadūsī[402] and Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, the mawlā of Maṣqalah, to al-Ḥārith. Khaṭṭāb and Muqātil b. Ḥayyān had said, "Do not meet him without offering a safe-conduct," but the group refused. When they reached him at al-Fāryāb, he bound them with chains and imprisoned them, assigning a man to guard them.

But they tied the man up and escaped from the prison, riding their mounts and driving off the mounts of the post. They passed through al-Ṭālaqān, where Suhrab,[403] the ruler of al-Ṭālaqān, in-

397. His geneology (*nasab*) given in various works as 'Āmir b. 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym obviously cannot be correct, as al-Ṭabarī here specifically states that he is 'Umārah's grandson, not his son, and as his leadership of the Qays at the factionalism in Damascus in 176(792) comes sixty years after 'Umārah's activity. A note in a manuscript of Ibn Durayd calls him 'Amir b. Ḍubārah, but Ḍubārah is probably only a copyist's error for 'Umārah. Thus it seems the name of his father has dropped from his geneology. Perhaps his true name is Abū al-Haydhām b. 'Āmir b. 'Umārah. See Crone, *Slaves*, 98; Ṭabarī, 1/3, 624–5; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 127, II, 168; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 289.

398. The present Andkhuy in northern Afghanistan. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 426; *EI*², s.v. Andkhuy.

399. Now Dawlatābād in Afghanistan, though Le Strange identifies it with the nearby Khayrābād. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 426; *EI*², s.v. Fāryāb.

400. A diehard Muḍarī, supporter of Naṣr b. Sayyār and opponent of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, he held various posts and was executed at Marw in 130(748) by Abū Muslim. See Ṭabarī, III/2 1688–9, 1868–9, 1989.

401. Abū Muḥārib al-Mujāshi'ī. He was with Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī in 104(722) counselling caution. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1442; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 587.

402. He too was with Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī in 104(722). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1446.

403. The local Iranian prince, apparently already on the throne in 90(709). See

tended to do them ill but then held back and left them alone. When they reached Marw, 'Āṣim commanded them to deliver sermons dealing with al-Ḥārith, in which they mentioned the wickedness of his behavior and his treachery. Then al-Ḥārith moved on to Balkh, where Naṣr was in charge. The troops (there) fought him, but he defeated the men of Balkh, whereupon Naṣr went away to Marw.

According to certain authorities: When al-Ḥārith was drawing near to Balkh, al-Tujībī b. Ḍubay'ah al-Murrī and Naṣr b. Sayyār [1567] were in charge of it, both having been appointed by al-Junayd.

Al-Ḥārith reached the Bridge of 'Aṭā', which is on the Balkh River[404] two *farsakhs* from the city, and met Naṣr b. Sayyār, who had ten thousand (men) with him, while al-Ḥārith b. Surayj had four thousand. Al-Ḥārith called them to (obey) the Qur'ān and the Sunnah and to pay homage to an acceptable candidate.[405] At this, Qaṭan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Juzayy al-Bāhilī said, "O Ḥārith, you call (us) to God's book and the Sunnah. By God, even if Gabriel was on your right and Michael was on your left, I would not respond to you!" Qaṭan fought them, but a shot hit him in the eye, so that he was the first killed. The forces of Balkh fled to the city in defeat. Al-Ḥārith followed them until he entered it, while Naṣr went out from another gate. Al-Ḥārith commanded (his men) to desist from (attacking) the men of Balkh further. A man in the forces of al-Ḥārith said, "I was walking in one of the streets of Balkh when I passed by women weeping, one of whom was saying, 'O father, would that I knew who struck you!' A bedouin Arab who was walking beside me asked, 'Who is this weeping woman?' Someone said to him, 'The daughter of Qaṭan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Juzayy.' The bedouin said, 'I, by your father, struck you (with this misfortune)!' I asked him, 'Did you kill him?' He answered, 'Yes.'

It is said that Naṣr came while al-Tujībī was in charge of Balkh. Naṣr imprisoned al-Tujībī, who remained a prisoner until al-Ḥārith defeated Naṣr. Al-Tujībī had whipped al-Ḥārith forty lashes during the governorship of al-Junayd, wherefore al-Ḥārith trans-

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Ṭabarī, II/2, 1206.

404. Presently the Dehās River. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 78.

405. That is, for the position of amīr. Al-Ḥārith did not specify that "the chosen one" (*al-riḍā*) should be from the Prophet's family.

ferred him to the castle of Bādhkar[406] at Zamm. A man from the Banū Ḥanīfah came claiming that al-Tujībī, when he was in charge
[1568] of Herat, had slain his brother. Al-Ḥārith gave him over to the Ḥanafī. Al-Tujībī said to him, "I will ransom myself from you for one hundred thousand (dirhams)," but the man did not accept (it) from him and killed him. Some say that al-Tujībī was slain in the governorship of Naṣr before al-Ḥārith came against him.

When al-Ḥārith gained control of Balkh, he appointed as governor for it a man from the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim[407] and departed. When he was in al-Jūzjān,[408] he summoned Wābiṣah b. Zurārah al-ʿAbdī and also summoned Dujājah and Waḥsh, the two ʿIjlīs, Bishr b. Jurmūz and Abū Fāṭimah to ask, "What is your sound advice?" Abū Fāṭimah answered, "Marw is the iron helmet of Khurāsān and its horsemen are many; even if they only met you with their slaves, they would obtain their due from you. Therefore, stay (where you are). If they come against you, you will fight them, if they stay (where they are), you will cut off their supplies." Al-Ḥārith said, "I do not see (it) that way; rather, I will go to them." Thus al-Ḥārith having taken Balkh, al-Jūzjān, al-Fāryāb, al-Ṭālaqān, and Marw al-Rūdh, advanced to Marw. The people of religion among the people of Marw said, "If he passes on to Abrashahr and does not come to us, he will divide our community; if he comes against us, he will be overtaken by misfortune."

It reached ʿĀṣim that the people of Marw were corresponding with al-Ḥārith. ʿĀṣim resolved to set out, saying, "O people of Khurāsān, you have rendered the oath of allegiance to al-Ḥārith b. Surayj.[409] He does not proceed to a city except that you have left it to him. I am going to betake myself to the land of my people, Abrashahr, and write from it to the Commander of the Faithful so that he may supply me with ten thousand (troops) from the inhabitants of Syria." Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim said to him, "If they[410] give you their oath of allegiance (promising) to divorce their wives and free their slaves (if they fail to uphold it), then stay;
[1569] if they refuse, then go until you reach Abrashahr and write to the

406. The citadel of Samm. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 78.
407. Text *Ḥāzim*; read: *Khāzim*. He is Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh. See note 50.
408. A large district west of Balkh in Lower Ṭukhāristān, a center of the Tamīm. See *EI*², s.v. Djūzdjān.
409. Text: *Shurayḥ*; read; *Surayj*.
410. That is, the Muslim forces from Marw.

Commander of the Faithful, that he may supply you with Syrian troops." Khālid b. Huraym,[411] one of the Banū Tha'labah b. Yarbū', and Abū Muḥārib Hilāl b. 'Ulaym said, "By God, we will not let you go. Your debt to the Commander of the Faithful constrains us. We are with you until we die, provided that you pay generously." 'Āṣim said, "I will do so." Yazīd b. Qarrān al-Riyāḥī[412] said three times, "If I do not fight beside you as long as you fight, then the daughter of al-Abrad b. Qurrah[413] is divorced." She was his wife. 'Āṣim asked, "Are you all in accord with this?" They said, "Yes," whereupon Salamah b. Abī 'Abdallāh,[414] the commander of 'Āṣim's guard, made them swear to divorce their wives (if they were unfaithful to their oaths).

Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj approached Marw with a numerous assemblage (of forces)—it is said with sixty thousand men—including the cavalry of the Azd and the Tamīm, among whom were: Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā,[415] Ḥammād b. 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī,[416] Dāwūd al-A'sar, Bishr b. Unayf al-Riyāḥī,[417] and 'Aṭā' al-Dabūsī. Some of the *dihqāns* of al-Jūzjān (were present), as well as Tarsul[418] the *dihqān* of al-Fāryāb,[419] Suhrab the prince of al-Ṭālaqān, and Qaryāqis[420] the *dihqān* of Marw, along with their

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411. Apparently the son of the famous Khurāsānī warrior Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah 'Adī b. Ḥārithah al-Mujāshi'ī, despite his identification here with the very different Banū Tha'labah b. Yarbū'. This group is not mentioned in the sources as being in Khurāsān after 32(653) and perhaps had been integrated with the Banū al-Mujāshi'. Khālid was a supporter of Naṣr in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1041, III/2, 1917; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 61, II, 287.

412. He appears once more with Naṣr in 121(739). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1691.

413. A partisan of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, he later revolted with Ibn al-Ash'ath and is last heard of in 83(702). See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1094; Crone, *Slaves*, 112–3.

414. A brother of 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh al-Kirmānī, the mawlā of the Sulaym, Salamah was a supporter of Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1933–4.

415. Al-Farāhīdhī of the Azd. He was a famous warrior of Khurāsān who at different times supported al-Ḥārith, Naṣr, and al-Kirmānī, and is last heard of in 130(748). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1971–2, 1985; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 244.

416. The son of 'Amir b. Mālik, the Tamīmī leader of al-Jūzjān. See note 73. Ḥammād was governor of al-Jūzjān for Naṣr in 125(743) and was later with Naṣr in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1918, 1922; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 244.

417. After reconciling with Naṣr, he was still fighting for him in 129(747). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1970.

418. Vocalization uncertain. He was called "King of al-Fāryād" in 90(709). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1206.

419. Text: *li-Fāryāb*; read: *al-Fāryāb*, as Cairo ed.

420. Vocalization uncertain.

likes.

'Āṣim went forth with the forces of Marw and others and camped at Jiyāsar[421] beside the synagogue.[422] He gave the troops a
[1570] dīnār each, but the men spoke evil of him. Then gave them three dīnārs each, giving to both the troops and others. When the two sides drew near to each other, 'Āṣim ordered the bridges to be destroyed. Al-Ḥārith's men came up and said (to 'Āṣim's men), "You are holding us in the desert! Allow us to cross over to you, that we may debate with you about the matter for whose sake we have mobilized." But 'Āṣim's men refused, whereupon al-Ḥārith's infantry set about repairing the bridges. The infantry of the inhabitants of Marw came to fight them. Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā al-Farāhīdhī went over to 'Āṣim with his standard, bringing it over with two thousand men. He joined the Azd (division in 'Āṣim's army). Ḥammad b. 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī went over to 'Āṣim as well. He joined the Banū Tamīm.

According to Salamah al-Azdī: Al-Ḥārith had sent envoys to 'Āṣim, including Muḥammad b. Muslim al-'Anbarī, to ask him to act in accord with the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj that day wore black.

When Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā changed sides, al-Ḥārith's troops began to attack. The forces met. The first to be slain was Ghiyāth b. Kulthūm of the family of al-Jārūd. Al-Ḥārith's troops were defeated. Many men of al-Ḥārith's forces drowned in the canals of Marw and the Great River.[423] The *dihqāns* returned to their own lands. On that day, Khālid b. 'Ilbā' b. Ḥabīb b. al-Jārūd[424] was hit on his face.

'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh sent 'Abd al-Mu'min[425] b. Khālid al-Ḥanafī,
[1571] 'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī,[426] Yaḥyā b. 'Aqīl al-Khuzā'ī, and Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī to al-Ḥārith to ask him what he

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421. Original name: Sarīkyārah; Jiyāsar is the Arabicized form. A village in the Marw oasis. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 195.

422. Or: church.

423. Probably the Murghāb itself. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 398–9, 401n.

424. Of the leading family of the 'Abd al-Qays, his father was commander of the *khums* of 'Abd al-Qays in Khurāsān from at least 93(712) to 102(721). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1419; Kūfī, *Futūh*, VII, 246.

425. Text: *al-Mu'min*: read: *'Abd al-Mu'min*. See note 355.

426. A Baṣran who had migrated to Marw, he was a transmitter of traditions. He was already in Khurāsān with Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī in 104(722). Ṭabarī, III/2, 1447; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 273–4.

wanted, while al-Ḥārith sent Muḥammad b. Muslim al-ʿAnbarī alone (to meet with them). Muḥammad said to them, "Al-Ḥārith and your brothers greet you with peace and say to you, 'We are thirsty and our animals are thirsty (as well). Therefore, let us make camp tonight, to that we may exchange envoys about what is between us and debate with each other. If we agree with you about what you want, fine; if not, you are responsible for your business,'" But they refused him and spoke rudely. Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī said, "O people of Khurāsān, we used to be the equivalent of one household, our frontier was one and our hand against our enemy was one. We disapprove what your leader has done: while our amīr has sent him the learned men of Islam and reciters of the Qur'ān from among his companions, he has sent only a single man." Muḥammad answered, "I have only come to you to deliver a message: we seek the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. What you seek will come to you tommorrow, God willing." Then, Muḥammad b. Muslim went back to al-Ḥārith.

When it was midnight, al-Ḥārith moved off. ʿĀṣim was informed, so that when it was morning he went against al-Ḥārith, and the forces met. In charge of al-Ḥārith's right was Rābiḍ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Zurārah al-Taghlibī. The troops fought furiously. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn—he was the chief of the Bakr b. Wā'il (for ʿĀṣim), while in charge of the Bakr b. Wā'il (for al-Ḥārith) was Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith b. Surayj—attacked, and many of al-Ḥārith's men were killed. [1572]
Thereupon al-Ḥārith crossed the valley of Marw,[427] setting up a tent beside the monks' dwellings, and ʿĀṣim desisted from (pursuing) him.

The slain were a hundred. Saʿīd b. Saʿd b. Jaz' al-Azdī was killed, and Khāzim b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim,[428] who was with al-Ḥārith, drowned. About three thousand (men) mustered to al-Ḥārith.

Al-Qāsim b. Muslim: When al-Ḥārith was defeated, ʿĀṣim refrained from (pursuing) him, though if he had pressed on against him, he would have destroyed him. He sent a message to al-Ḥārith (saying), "I am returning to you that which I guaranteed to you and

427. Presumably to the other side of the river.
428. Al-Sulamī, the son of the famous rebel Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh and grandson of the renowned governor of Khurāsān, he probably hailed from the vicinity of his father's base at al-Tirmidh. See note 50; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 423–6.

your troops, on the condition that you depart," and al-Ḥārith did so.

Khālid b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ḥabīb had come to al-Ḥārith the night he was defeated. His companions had decided to desert al-Ḥārith, saying, "Did you not claim that he would not reject your advice?"[429] But he came to them and quieted them.

ʿAṭāʾ al-Dabūsī was one of the horsemen. He said to his servant on the Day of Zarq[430] "Saddle my horse for me, that I may play with this female donkey." He called out offering combat. A man from the inhabitants of al-Ṭālaqān came out to face him, saying in his language, "O Kīrikhar!"[431]

Pilgrimage and Governors

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī: In this year, al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who was the heir apparent, led the pilgrimage.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b.
[1573] ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī and others said likewise.

The governors of the major provinces in this year were the same as those in the one before, except for Khurāsān, whose governor in this year was ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hilālī.

429. Text: *rāyah*; read: *ra'yah*. The text is obscure. If we follow it as written, it means "that he would not return a standard to you"; that is, that he would fail. But the reference to a standard is hard to explain, especially for this Khālid, who seems to have been more of an adviser than anything else. See note 323. Likewise his father ʿUbaydallāh. See note 315.

430. A town on the Murghāb about seven *farsakh*s southeast of Marw, apparently at the edge of the Marw oasis. This reference establishes the site of the battle. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 400–1.

431. Obscure term, apparently Iranian.

The Events of the Year 117

(January 31, 735 - January 19, 736)

Among the events in it were the summer campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām (against the Byzantines) on the left flank and the summer campaign of Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik on the right flank from the direction of al-Jazīrah, whence he scattered his raiding parties into the land of the Byzantines.

In it, Marwān b. Muḥammad, who was governor of Armenia, sent out two expeditions, one of which conquered three fortresses in al-Lān, while the other descended on Tūmānshāh, whose inhabitants made peace (on terms).

In it, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh from Khurāsān, which he joined to (the province of) Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. Khālid made his brother Asad b. 'Abdallāh governor of it.

According to al-Madā'inī: Hishām's dismissal of 'Āṣim from Khurāsān and the subordination of Khurāsān to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh happened in the year 116/734.

The Reason for Hishām's Dismissal of 'Āṣim and His Appointment of Khālid for Khurāsān

According to 'Alī—his authorities: The reason for that was that

ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh wrote to Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, "Now then:
[1574] O Commander of the Faithful, the scout is not false to his people. The matter which the Commander of the Faithful has entrusted me with requires me to give him sincere counsel: Khurāsān will not be well unless it is joined to (the province of) the governor of Iraq, so that supplies, advantages, and assistance for it in events and misfortunes will be nearby, (and this is) owing to the remoteness of the Commander of the Faithful from it and the slowness of his help in reaching it." When his letter had gone forth, he went out to his companions, Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn and al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī and their companions, telling them the news. Al-Mujashshir said to him, "After the letter has gone forth, are you (jolted) as if a lion has just surprised you?" After this came Asad b. ʿAbdallāh, whom Hishām had sent forth (as governor) a month after ʿĀṣim's letter. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī[432] sent the people of Marw this poem:

Will you not deliver to the community of the people of Marw,
Despite its remoteness[433] and distance,
A letter from a sincere counselor giving a greeting of peace
And enjoining earnestness regarding that which they have undertaken.
And deliver an apology to Ḥārith, from us
To him, that those near me are strained with exertion.
If that were not so, cavalry would have visited you
From the two metropoli[434] with horsemen who cut down (enemies).
Therefore, do not weaken, nor be satisfied with ignominy,
Nor let Asad deceive you with any promise.
Be like prostitutes if you are shortchanged
[1575] And if you admit of injury from a scoundrel!
And if not, then raise up banners black
Against those who go astray and transgress.
How can it be, when you are seventy thousand

432. Famous pro-Muḍar Kūfan Shīʿī poet. See al-Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XV, 113–130.
433. Text: *nā'*; read: *na'y*, as in Cairo ed.
434. Ar. *al-miṣrayn*, sing. *miṣr*. Originally garrison cities for the Arab Muslim troops on the edge of the desert, these had by now become major cities and seats of power. Here al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah are meant. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. m-ṣ-r; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 26.

That Khālid has laid you low with the like of an ape,
And those whom he charged—on his responsibility—with Razīn
And his party, but he did not keep his promise,
And those who covered the Quḍā'ah with a robe of humiliation
By killing the father of Salāmān b. Sa'd.[435]
So go slowly, O Quḍā'ah, do not be
Followers having no roots for themselves in Najd[436]
If you were to summon the Banū Nizār,
Horsemen would come to you having both lank and curly hair.
May every nose of the Quḍā'ah be cut off,
And may they never gain any glory!

Razīn who is mentioned had rebelled at al-Kūfah against Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, who had given him a safe-conduct but did not keep to it. Naṣr b. Sayyār said regarding him at the time al-Ḥārith approached Marw and raised black banners, al-Ḥārith being of the opinion of the Murji'ah:[437]

Leave behind you a worldly life and a family you are going to leave;[438]
What good is there in a world and a family that do not last,
Except for a remainder of days to an appointed time?
Therefore, seek from God a family who do not die.
Strive after much fear of God regarding secrets:
The best of fear of God is what is hidden.
Know that you are hostage to your works;
Therefore be much worried, sad.
I see murderous deceit in the master of he
Who in these days has been deceived.
(The world) will be for a man various times; it will make him

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435. A subdivision of the 'Udhrah, a subtribe of the Quḍā'ah. Any event alluded to here must have taken place in the Jāhiliyyah (pre-Islamic times). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 447.

436. The home of the Arabs tracing descent from 'Adnān, as opposed to the Yaman. The Quḍā'ah's position between the two was ambiguous and had been changing toward the Yaman. Here they are exhorted to remember their ties with 'Adnān. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳuḍā'a.

437. The followers of a religious doctrine propounded by Jahm b. Ṣafwān, al-Ḥārith's associate. See *EI*[1], s.v. Murdji'a.

438. That is, when you die anyway.

[1576] Stumble one day, and another time it will give him ease,
While time transforms a youth having a pleasant
Life, so that he later gets knocked about:
(Life) is sweet to him one time, so that he is pleased with it
For a while, and becomes bitter in taste for him (other) times.
Is it a passing moment from the remnants of time which
you wait for,
Other than like that which has elapsed, in which you may
carry out (your plans)?
Make your struggle against those who do not hope for an afterlife,
And be an enemy to a people who do not offer Islamic
worship.
And slay their follower among us and their helper,
Sometimes declaring them unbelievers, and curse them
sometimes,
And those finding fault with us regarding our religion, who are
The worst followers of religion if you searched out
information on them,
And those saying, 'The path of God is our desire';
How far they have deviated from what they say!
Therefore, slay them in anger for God, triumphing
Over them by it, and leave the doubter seduced (by the
rebelliousness).
Your delay (of judgment) has pushed you together with
polytheism in a coupling,
So that you are a people of polytheism and delayers (of
judgment at the same time).
May God not exile into the tombs other than you,
For your religion has been tied to polytheism.
God has cast fear into your throats because of it,
While God decrees for us goodness and exalts us,
So that we may be the helpers, when a fearful event occurs
Owing to what you are aiming at through polytheism for
Islam and the world.
Do you (people) fault us, lying about it, (saying that
We are between) extremist and oppressor? What is among us
is enough for me!
He among those of you whom God afflicted first refused
(Being afflicted with) hypocrisy, nor did He thus afflict us.

Then al-Ḥārith came back again to make war on ʿĀṣim. When ʿĀṣim heard that Asad b. ʿAbdallāh had drawn near, that he had [1577] sent in charge of his vanguard Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Hamdānī[439] and that he had stopped at al-Dandānqān,[440] he made peace with al-Ḥārith. He drew up a document between the two of them stipulating that al-Ḥārith could abide in whatever districts of Khurāsān he wished and that the two of them would write together to Hishām, asking him (to obey) the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. If he refused, they were to join together against him. Some of the (tribal) leaders stamped the document, but Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn refused to stamp it, saying, "This is rebellion against the Commander of the Faithful." Khalaf b. Khalīfah[441] said to Yaḥyā:

Your heart's concern refuses except to be joined together,
    While your sleep refuses except to refrain
Without hearing, and you would not find me
    Trying to hear one possessed by distraction.
We preserved the Umayyah in their sovereignty,
    And we expose ourselves to danger for them that they
    may be be feared.
We defend them and their sovereignty
    If we do not find them able to defend themselves.
The genealogical connection that was of old between us
    And the Umayyah has refused except to break apart.
Did we not snatch away the head of Ibn al-Zubayr
    And tear the sovereignty from him?
We settled the Caliphate in its deserving family
    When the people were struggling with each other
    fiercely over it.
We supported the Umayyah with Yamanī sword
    When the sovereignty was stripped from them altogether.
Among us is he who strengthened the people of Iraq,
    And if Yaḥyā left the frontier, it would be lost.

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439. Al-Khaywānī. He was the chief of the division of the Tamīm and the Hamdān at al-Kūfah in 122(740). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1702; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah,* I, 228.

440. An important town two day's march southwest of Marw. See Le Strange, *Lands,* 400.

441. Al-Aqṭaʿ, of unknown connections but sympathetic to the Yaman-Rabīʿah. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr wa Shuʿarāʾ*, 714–5; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1822–3, 1847, 1862, 1946.

We wrecked matters for Ibn Surayj,
[1578] Although he had made them as firm as he could.
What he says is wise; (it is) wisdom (to say)
When a group of people are dispersed, they are united.
On the evening of Zarq, after they had determined (on battle),
We repressed the determination of the oath-breakers;
But if not for the hero of the Wā'il,[442] no leader would
Have been able to cook sheep's trotters thoroughly.[443]
Tell Umayyah therefore to consider our
Hands that have not been rewarded for it, and our good work.
Will you give up killing our chiefs,
As we reject other than your right (to the Caliphate)?
Is he among those devoted (to you) who did not offer you for sale
Like another who chanced upon a market and sold (you) out?
Ibn Ḥuḍayn, in reaction to what you do, refuses
Except to bear patiently and except to follow.
Had al-Ḥārith felt safe from the two Wā'ils,[444]
He would have frightened you in the number of those he had frightened,
While he was a wry-mouthed causer of mischief
Who spread error among that which he spread.
We sufficed the Umayyah as a sealed document
By which 'Āṣim obeyed whom he obeyed.
If not for the positions of our standards
With the troops, the troops would have feared being lost.
We brought together the old (effort) for them with the new,
But the Umayyah refuse except cutting (us) off, (from)
Treasures whose benefit belongs to other than us;
We have not known any benefit from them.
If our banners came to your treasures, the veil being parted,
You would be frightened on your insides.
Therefore, where is the good faith for the people of good faith?
Thanks is too good to be made lost.
Where are the stored up provisions belonging to the Banū Wā'il,

442. That is, Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn, chief of the Bakr b. Wā'il.

443. Text: *li-yunḍiḥ*; read: *li-yunḍij* as in Cairo ed. Sheep's trotters here symbolize the whole sheep slaughtered for a victory feast.

444. Text: *al-Wā'ilīn*; read: *al-Wā'ilayn*. This must refer to the Bakr and the Taghlib b. Wā'il, the two branches of Wā'il.

If stores are to be returned to the people? [1579]
Do you not know that our swords
Treat violent hatred and cure headache?
When Ibn Ḥuḍayn goes forth with the battle standard,
And the people of the citadels have handed over the citadels,
When Ibn Ḥuḍayn goes forth with the battle standard,
Vultures and hyenas point him out.
When Ibn Ḥuḍayn goes forth with the battle standard,
He slaughters, while the Maʿadd are an unwholesome pasture.

ʿĀṣim b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sharāḥīl al-Yashkurī, who was one of the people of counsel, advised Yaḥyā to break the agreement, saying, "Signs. Later they will become clear, while they also are equivocal words; therefore, render (your speech) ambiguous."

ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh was in a village belonging to the Kindah in the highest part of Marw, while al-Ḥārith encamped at a village of the Banū al-ʿAnbar. They met with horses and men. With ʿĀṣim were a man from the Banū ʿAbs leading five hundred men from the inhabitants of Syria and Ibrāhīm b. ʿĀṣim al-ʿUqaylī[445] with the like of that.[446] ʿĀṣim's herald called out, "Whoever brings a head will get three hundred dirhams." After that, one of his officials brought a head while biting on its nose. Then a man from the Banū Layth called Layth b. ʿAbdallāh brought a head. Then another brought a head. It was said to ʿĀsim, "If the men become greedy in this, they will not leave a boatman nor a peasant but that they will bring you his head." Thus his herald called out, "Let no one bring a head, for whoever brings one will get nothing from us." Al-Ḥārith's forces were defeated, prisoners being taken from [1580] them. ʿĀṣim's forces captured ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr al-Māzinī, the head of the forces of Marw al-Rūdh. The prisoners were eighty, most of them from the Banū Tamīm. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh slew them on the canal of al-Dandānqān.

The Yaman had sent from Syria with five hundred men a man who was equal to one thousand men and whose patronymic was Abū Dāwūd in the days of the factionalism. He would not pass

445. A Jazīran commander who later became governor of Sijistān. See Crone, *Slaves*, 150–1; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, II, 352.

446. These two contingents of Syrian troops represented respectively the Syrian Yaman and the Qays.

through a village among Khurāsān's villages without saying, "It is as if you have seen me while I was passing by bearing the head of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj." When the forces met, Abū Dāwūd invited a single combat, and al-Ḥārith b. Surayj came forward against him, striking him on his left shoulder and knocking him to the ground. His companions protected him and bore him away. He became mixed up and would say, "O Abrashahr! O poor al-Ḥārith b. Surayj! O possessors of the inhabited world!" The horse of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was shot in its breast. Al-Ḥārith pulled out the arrow and made it run, urging it on by hitting it so that he made it leap and sweat, distracting it from the pain of the wound.

A man from among the Syrian troops charged al-Ḥārith. At the moment when he thought the spear would hit him, he leaned over from his horse. After that, he pursued the Syrian, who said to him, "I ask you by the sanctity of Islam for my blood (to be spared)." Al-Ḥārith said, "Get down from your horse." He got down, and al-Ḥārith mounted it. The Syrian said, "Take the saddle, for by God, it is better than the horse."

A man of the 'Abd al-Qays said:

The Quraysh have taken up the pleasure of life while guarding
[1581] Through us every dust-colored ravine in Khurāsān.
Would that the Quraysh some night found themselves
Swimming in a dark green depth of the sea!

The Syrian troops glorified Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn owing to what he did in the matter of the document which 'Āṣim wrote. They wrote a letter and sent it with Muḥammad b. Muslim al-'Anbarī and a man from the Syrian forces. They met Asad b. 'Abdallāh at al-Rayy. It is also said that they met him at Bayhaq.[447] He said, "Go back, for I will set this matter straight." Muḥammad b. Muslim said, "My house has been destroyed." He responded, "I will rebuild it for you and will set right for you every injustice."

Asad wrote to Khālid, boasting falsely that he had defeated al-Ḥārith and telling him about the matter of Yaḥyā. Khālid allowed Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn ten thousand dīnārs and provided him with a hundred sets of clothes.

'Āṣim's governorship lasted less than a year. It has been said it

447. The modern Sabzavār, a large city west of Naysābūr. See *EI*², s.v. Bayhaḳ; Le Strange, *Lands*, 391.

was for seven months. Asad b. 'Abdallāh arrived when al-Ḥārith had gone away. Asad imprisoned 'Āṣim, asking him about what he had spent, holding him to account and taking from him a hundred thousand dirhams. He said, "You did not campaign nor did you go outside of Marw," while 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym was standing (there) and the subordinates of al-Junayd were in prison. Asad said to them, "I will act among you either according to our custom or according to the custom of your people." They responded, "Rather, according to your custom." Therefore, he let them go.

According to 'Alī—his authorities: When Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik heard of the affair of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, he wrote to Khālid [1582] b. 'Abdallāh, "Send your brother to put aright what has been upset. If it is to turn out as hoped, let it be by him." Thus, he dispatched his brother Asad to Khurāsān. When Asad arrived, 'Āṣim did not hold anything in Khurāsān except Marw and the district of Abrashahr, while al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was at Marw al-Rūdh and Khālid b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Hajarī was at Āmul. Asad feared if he headed toward al-Ḥārith in Marw al-Rūdh, Khālid b. 'Ubaydallāh would enter Marw from the direction of Āmul, while if he made for Khālid (at Āmul), al-Ḥārith would enter Marw from the direction of Marw al-Rūdh. Therefore, he resolved to dispatch 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī with the troops of al-Kūfah and the troops of Syria to the district of Marw al-Rūdh to seek out al-Ḥārith, while Asad went with (the rest of) the troops to Āmul. He put in command of the Banū Tamīm al-Ḥawtharah b. Yazīd al-'Anbarī. The cavalry of the inhabitants of Āmul led by Ziyād al-Qurashī, the mawlā of Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, met Asad's forces at 'Uthmān's wells,[448] but Asad defeated them, (pursuing them) up to the city gate. Then they charged back against Asad's troops. A servant of Asad b. 'Abdallāh called Jabalah, who was his standard bearer, was slain. The forces of Āmul fortified themselves in three cities they possessed.

Asad descended upon them, laying siege to them and setting up mangonels against them. They were commanded by Khālid b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Hajarī, from among al-Ḥārith's adherents. The besieged sought a safe-conduct. Ruwayd b. Ṭāriq al-Quṭa'ī, a mawlā [1583] of the Quṭay'ah, went out to them and asked, "What do you

448. Probably on the road to Marw near Āmul. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 403.

seek?" They answered, "The Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet." Ruwayd said, "You may have that." They said, "On condition that you not take the people of these cities to account for our crime." He gave them that and put as governor over them Yaḥyā b. Nu'aym al-Shaybānī,[449] one of the Banū Tha'labah b. Shaybān and the son of Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah's[450] brother.

Then Asad advanced along the road to Zamm, heading toward the city of Balkh, whereupon he met a mawlā of Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who told him that the people of Balkh had rendered the oath of allegiance to Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim.[451] Asad then came to Balkh and, using boats, went from it to al-Tirmidh. (There) he found al-Ḥārith besieging al-Ḥajjāj b. Hārūn al-Numayrī, the sons of Zur'ah and the family of 'Aṭiyyah al-A'war al-Naṣrī[452] along with the forces of al-Tirmidh, while al-Sabal was with al-Ḥārith. Asad camped on the opposite side of the river, able neither to cross over to them nor to supply them. The forces of al-Tirmidh came out of the city and fought al-Ḥārith fiercely. Al-Ḥārith pretended to flee from them, then came back charging them, and they were defeated. Yazīd b. al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal and 'Āṣim b. Mu'awwil al-Bajalī[453] were slain along with one hundred and fifty of the Syrian troops and others. Bishr b. Jurmūz, Abū Fāṭimah al-Azdī[454] and those with al-Ḥārith from the villages would come to the gates of al-Tirmidh to weep, to complain about the Banū Marwān and their oppression, and to ask the inhabitants to come down to (join) them in order to help them make war on the Banū Marwān. But those in al-Tirmidh refused them (this). Al-Sabal, who was with al-Ḥārith, said, "O Ḥārith,
[1584] al-Tirmidh has been built with drums and flutes. It will not be

449. Abū al-Maylā', he was an important Khurāsānī noble of Balkh of Kūfan origin who changed parties many times and ended joining with Abū Muslim then turning on him in 130(748). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1925, 1966–7, 1970, 1997–98; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 148; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 354.

450. A Kūfan notable who tried to conquer Ṭabaristān under Mu'āwiyah but was killed. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 411; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 321.

451. Al-Sulamī. See note 50.

452. Text: *al-Naḍrī*; read: *al-Naṣrī*. Being here in al-Tirmidh, he is far more likely to belong to the Qaysī Banū Naṣr b. Mu'āwiyah than to any Banū al-Naḍr; and, indeed, as a tribal *nisbah* al-Naḍrī seems almost nonexistent. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, III, 226–7, 229; also note 252.

453. Text: *al-Najalī*; read: *al-Bajalī*.

454. Text: *al-Iyādī*; read: *al-Azdī*. See note 217.

conquered by weeping, but it will only be by the sword. Therefore, fight, if you are able to fight!" Afterward, al-Sabal left him and came to his own country.

When Asad passed through the land of Zamm, he faced al-Qāsim al-Shaybānī, who was in a fortress by Zamm called Bādhkar. Asad went along until he came to al-Tirmidh, where he camped on the opposite side of the Oxus, placing his elevated seat on the river bank. The men began to cross. Al-Ḥārith in his vessel attacked those whose vessels were downstream from the vessels of the city. The two sides met in a vessel in which were Asad's men, including Aṣghar b. 'Aynā' al-Ḥimyarī, and the vessel of al-Ḥārith's men, in which was Dāwūd al-A'sar. Aṣghar shot at and struck the (other) vessel. He said, "I am the Aḥmarī boy!" Dāwūd al-A'sar said, "Owing to a certain matter, I do not trace back my origin to him, may no land be yours!" He stuck his vessel to the vessel of Aṣghar, and they fought.

Al-Ishkand approached. He had desired al-Ḥārith to go away and said to him, "I have only come to you in order to help you." Al-Ishkand concealed himself behind a monastery. Al-Ḥārith came near with his forces. When the people of al-Tirmidh came out against him, he pretended to flee from them, and they pursued him. Naṣr was with Asad sitting watching, and he showed disgust, knowing that al-Ḥārith had tricked the people of al-Tirmidh. But Asad supposed that he had only done that out of solicitude for al-Ḥārith when he had turned about (to flee). At this point, [1585]
Asad wished to reproach Naṣr, when suddenly al-Ishkand came out against the people of al-Tirmidh, charging against them, and they fled. In the battle Yazīd b. al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal al-Jurmūzī of the Azd and 'Āṣim b. Mu'awwil, who was of the Syrian forces' cavalry, were killed. Then Asad departed for Balkh. The men of al-Tirmidh went out against al-Ḥārith, defeating him and killing Abū Fāṭimah, 'Ikrimah and a group from among the people having clear insight.

Then Asad went to Samarqand by way of Zamm. When he came to Zamm, he sent a message to al-Qāsim[455] al-Shaybānī, who was in Bādhkar and was of the forces of al-Ḥārith, saying:

"You have only censured your people for what bad behavior oc-

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455. Text: *al-Haytham*; read: *al-Qāsim*. A copyist's error.

curred among them. That did not extend to the women, nor to the allowance of rape, nor to the seizure by the polytheists of the like of Samarqand. I am headed for Samarqand. May God's covenant and His guarantee be against me if I begin acting evilly toward you. You will receive munificent gifts, kindness, honor and safe-conduct, as well as whoever is with you. But in case you ungratefully despise what I have invited you to accept, then may God's covenant and the guarantee of the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the guarantee of the Amīr Khālid be against me when you shoot (even) an arrow, if I do not refuse to give you a safe-conduct after it. Even if I were to give you a thousand safe-conducts then, I would not uphold them."

Thus al-Qāsim went out to him according to what safe-conduct he had undertaken towards him, and Asad protected him from harm. Al-Qāsim went with Asad to Samarqand.

Asad paid the troops a double stipend. He transported them on what animals there were that he had driven along with him. He
[1586] carried with him food from Bukhārā and drove along with him many sheep belonging to the Kurds, which he divided among the men. Then he went up to Waraghsar,[456] from which the water of Samarqand is derived. He blocked up the watercourse at its origin,[457] diverting it away from Samarqand. He would even bear the stones with his own hands in order to throw them onto the dam. Then he came back from Samarqand until he stopped at Balkh.

Certain authorities claim that that which I have mentioned regarding the matter of Asad and the matter of the adherents of al-Ḥārith was in the year (1)18.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the pilgrimage.

In it, the governor of al-Madīnah as well as of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif was Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl, that of Iraq and the East

456. A town, now Rabāṭ-i-Khawja, four *farsakhs* east and upstream from Samarqand on the south bank of the Zarafshān River. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 83, 92–3, 191; Le Strange, *Lands*, 465, 467.

457. Probably the present Dargham Ariq, which separated at Waraghsar. That Asad had to do this shows that Samarqand had been lost in the preceding years, perhaps in 113. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 83; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 78–9.

was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, and that of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad.

In it, Fāṭimah bt. 'Alī[458] and Sukaynah, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī,[459] died.

Punishment of 'Abbāsid Missionaries in Khurāsān

In this year, Asad b. 'Abdallāh arrested a group of the missionaries of the Banū al-'Abbās in Khurāsān, killing some, mutilating some, and imprisoning some. Among those arrested were Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Mālik b. al-Haytham, Mūsā b. Ka'b, Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ, Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, and Ṭalḥah b. Ruzayq.[460] When they were brought to Asad, he said to them, "O depraved ones, did God not say, 'God forgives what has gone before, but whoever repeats (his offence), God will wreak vengeance upon him, and God is Mighty, the Possessor of vengeance'?"[461] It has been reported that Sulaymān b. Kathīr asked, "Shall I speak or keep silent?" Asad said, "Rather, speak up!" Sulaymān said, "We, by God, are as the [1587]
poet said:

If, being without water, my throat were choked,
    I would be like a choking man; I drink water a
    little at a time, to stop choking.

You know what our story is. By God, scorpions have been hunted by your hands! O amīr, we are men from your own people! These Muḍarīs have only raised this (matter) to you because we were the harshest of people against Qutaybah b. Muslim; thus, they have only sought their revenge." Then the son of Sharīk b. al-Ṣāmit al-Bāhilī spoke, saying, "These people have been arrested time after time!" Mālik b. al-Haytham said, "May God make the amīr prosper! You ought to consider this man's speech in conjunc-

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458. The daughter of the Caliph 'Alī by a concubine. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 44, 46; Kaḥḥālah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, IV, 81.

459. The granddaughter of the Caliph 'Alī and great-granddaughter of the Prophet. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 59; Kaḥḥālah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, II, 202–24.

460. These men were all naqībs of the 'Abbāsid da'wah in Khurāsān and thus all natives to the province. The first two are Khuzā'īs, the second two Tamīmīs from the marginal subtribe of Imru' al-Qays, and the last two a Bakrī from the Dhuhl and an Iranian mawlā of the Khuzā'ah. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 192–3 and passim; Crone, *Slaves*, 181, 186.

461. Qur'ān 5:95.

tion with that of others." They said, "It is as if, O brother from the Bāhilah, you seek revenge for Qutaybah. We, by God, were the harshest of people against him!" Asad sent them to jail. Then he summoned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym and asked him, "What do you think?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān answered, "I think you should make gifts of them to their tribes." Asad asked, "What about the two Tamīmīs who are with them?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān answered, "You should let them go." Asad said, "In that case, I would be disowned by ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd."[462] Then Asad asked, "What would you do with the Rabaʿī?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān answered, "By God, I would let him go." Asad then called for Mūsā b. Kaʿb to be brought and gave orders regarding him that he be bridled with a donkey's bridle. He then commanded that the bridle be drawn back, and it was pulled back so that his teeth were shattered. Then he said, "Smash his face," whereupon his nose was broken, his beard cut off, and one of his molars fell out. Then he called for Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ. Lāhiz
[1588] said, "By God, there is no right in this, that you do this to us and leave the Yaman and the Rabīʿah alone!" At this, he whipped him three hundred lashes then said, "Crucify him!" But al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Azdī[463] said, "He is under my protection and is innocent of that which he has been slandered[464] with." Asad asked, "What about the others?" Al-Ḥasan answered, "I know they are innocent; therefore, let them go." Thus Asad let them go.

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462. Asad's father.

463. Al-Azdī here is almost certainly a mistake for al-ʿAnbarī. He was the head of the Tamīm in Khurāsān at least 125(743)–129(747) and probably here as well, where his intervention on behalf of his tribal division saved his fellow tribesman's life. *Akhbār al-Dawlah* has b. Yazīd for his filiation. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1771, 1773; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 276.

464. Text: *fudhif*; read: *qudhif*.

The
Events of the Year
118

(JANUARY 20, 736—JANUARY 7, 737)

Among these events was the campaign of Mu'āwiyah and Sulaymān, the two sons of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, against the land of the Byzantines.

Asad in Khurāsān

In this year, Bukayr b. Māhān sent 'Ammār b. Yazīd[465] to Khurāsān to be in charge of the party of the Banū al-'Abbās. He settled—according to what has been reported—in Marw and changed his name, calling himself Khidāsh. He called (people) to (the imāmate of) Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The people hastened to him, accepting what he had brought, hearing him and obeying. Then he changed what he called them to, affecting a lie, expounding the religion of the Khurramiyyah[466] and calling (people) to it. He gave them license regarding each other's wives, telling them that that was by the order of Muḥammad b. 'Alī. News of him reached Asad b. 'Abdallāh, who set out spies against him, leading to his seizure.

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465. See note 185.

466. Latter-day Mazdakites. See *EI*², s.v. Khurramiyya. But the claim 'Ammār/Khidāsh was a Khurramī is probably false. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 166–9, 182–3.

He was brought to Asad when the latter had made ready for the campaign of Balkh. Asad asked him how he was, but Khidāsh spoke rudely to him. Therefore, Asad gave orders concerning him, and his hand was cut off, his tongue torn out, and his eye gouged
[1589] out.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī—his authorities: When Asad came to Āmul, immediately they brought him Khidāsh, the leader of the Hāshimiyyah. Asad ordered Qurʿah[467] the doctor to cut out his tongue and gouge out his eye. Asad said, "Praise be to God who has taken revenge on you for Abū Bakr and ʿUmar." Then he handed him over to Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym al-Shaybānī, the governor of Āmul. When he returned from Samarqand, he wrote to Yaḥyā, who killed Khidāsh and crucified him at Āmul. Also, Asad was brought Ḥazawwar, the mawlā of al-Muhājir b. Dārah al-Ḍabbī, and beheaded him on the river bank.

Then Asad, when he had gone away from Samarqand, stopped at Balkh. He sent Judayʿ al-Kirmānī[468] to a castle containing the heavy baggage of al-Ḥārith and that of his companions. The name of the castle was al-Tubūshkān in Upper Ṭukhāristān. In it were the Taghlibī Banū Barzā, al-Ḥārith's relatives by marriage. Al-Kirmānī besieged them until he took the place, slaying their warriors, massacring the Banū Barzā, and making captive the whole range of its population, Arabs, mawālī, and children, (all of) whom he sold at auction in the market of Balkh.

According to ʿAlī b. Yaʿlā, who witnessed that: Four hundred and fifty men among al-Ḥārith's adherents became full of rancor toward him. Their leader was Jarīr b. Maymūn, who was in charge of the judiciary, and among them were Bishr b. Unayf al-Ḥanẓalī and Dāwūd al-Aʿsar al-Khwārizmī. Al-Ḥārith said, "If you must separate from me and seek a safe-conduct, then seek it while I am present, for it is more probable (thus) that they will answer to you
[1590] positively. But if I depart before that, they will not give you a safe-

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467. Later present with Naṣr at Bukhārā in 121(739). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1694.

468. Al-Maʿnī of the Azd. Though of ʿUmānī origin, he was apparently born and raised in Kirmān, as shown by his name as well as by his association with the Kirmānī mawlā of the Sulaym. See note 414. He was briefly governor of Khurāsān in 120(738) and was most famous for leading the Yaman in the disastrous factionalism of 126(744)–129(747). Masʿūd b. ʿAmr, leader of the Azd in al-Baṣrah, was Judayʿ's cousin. See *EI*², s.v. Judayʿ; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 381; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 483, 502; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 213, II, 263.

conduct." They said, "Depart and leave us alone." Then they sent Bishr b. Unayf and another man to seek a safe-conduct. Asad gave the two of them a safe conduct and gifts. At this, they betrayed the people in the castle, informing him that those (therein) had neither food nor water.

Asad sent out al-Kirmānī with six thousand men, including Sālim b. Manṣūr al-Bajalī[469] in command of two thousand men, al-Azhar b. Jurmūz al-Numayrī with his own forces and the troops of Balkh numbering two thousand men, and five hundred men from the Syrian forces under Ṣāliḥ b. al-Qaʿqāʿ al-Azdī.[470] Al-Kirmānī sent out Manṣūr b. Sālim with his troops. Manṣūr crossed the Dirgham River,[471] passing the night (on the other side). In the morning, he remained where he was until the day was advanced. Then, he spent the day travelling nearly seventeen *farsakhs*, tiring out his horses. Then he came to Kishm[472] in the land of Jabghūyah. He reached a walled garden containing a planting which had sent forth stalks. The men in the camp sent their animals into it, there being four *farsakhs* between them and the castle. Then al-Kirmānī departed. When he had come to the watercourse, his scouts came to him to tell him that a group was coming headed by al-Muhājir b. Maymūn. When they reached al-Kirmānī, he struggled against them, after which they went away. Al-Kirmānī went along until he stopped beside the castle. When he first encamped there were about five hundred men in a mosque which al-Ḥārith had built. When it was morning, the cavalry all joined him, and al-Azhar's forces and the forces of Balkh followed. When they had gathered, [1591] al-Kirmānī delivered a speech to them, praising God and extolling Him and then saying:

"O people of Balkh, I do not find a similtude for you except the adulterous woman who gives access to her leg to whomever

469. He appears later as Manṣūr b. Sālim and Manṣūr b. Muslim; Manṣūr b. Sālim is most likely to be right. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1607, 1609.

470. He fought for the Yaman in the civil strife of 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1936.

471. Now called the Gukchah or Kowkcheh, it is the main river in the interior of Badakhshān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 435–6.

472. Text: *Kishtam*; read: *Kishm*, as BM. This important town south of the Dirgham River in Badakhshān still exists, its identification made probable by its proximity to the lands of the Jabghū in Upper Ṭukhāristān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 437.

comes to her. Al-Ḥārith came to you with a thousand men of the Iranians, and you gave your city over to his power, after which he slew your nobless and drove out your amīr. Then you went along with him among his helpers to Marw, where you forsook him. Then he came back to you beaten, but you gave the city (again) over to his power. By Him in Whose hands is my soul, I will not hear about any man of you having written a message to them on an arrow but that I will cut off his hand and foot and crucify him. As for whoever is with me from among the inhabitants of Marw, they are my special friends. I do not fear their treachery."

Then he rushed up to the castle, staying by it a day and a night without fighting. When it was the next day, a crier called out, "We have cast off our covenant with you." After that, they fought those inside, who were thirsty and hungry. Those besieged requested that they submit (themselves) to a judgement, but that their women and children be put aside for them. Thus they yielded (themselves) to Asad's judgement. After some days had passed, al-Muhallab b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAtakī came with a letter from Asad (saying), "Transport to me fifty of their men, including al-Muhājir b. Maymūn and his equals from their chiefs." They were borne to him, and he killed them. Asad also wrote to al-Kirmānī that he divide those who remained with him into thirds, that he crucify a third, cut off the hands and feet of a third, and cut off (only) the hands of a third. Al-Kirmānī did that and also brought forth their valuables, selling them at auction. Those whom he killed and crucified were four hundred.

In the year 118, Asad adopted the city of Balkh as his capital, bringing to it the government offices and building stongholds. Then he campaigned against Ṭukhāristān, then the land of Jabghūyah, where he conquered and took captives.

Hishām Dismisses Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik from al-Madīnah

[1592] In this year, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik dismissed Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam from (the governorship of) al-Madīnah, appointing to it Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl.

According to al-Wāqidī: On the day Khālid was dismissed from

al-Madīnah, Abū Bakr b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm[473] received a letter containing his appointment as governor, after which he mounted the pulpit and led the people in worship for six days. Then Muḥammad b. Hishām came from Mecca as governor of al-Madīnah.

ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās Dies

In this year, ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās[474] died. His patronymic was Abū Muḥammad. His death took place at al-Ḥumaymah[475] in the land of Syria. He was seventy-eight or seventy-seven years old. It has been said he was born on the night in which ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was struck, which was the night of the seventeenth of Ramaḍān of the year 40 (January 24, 661), and thus his father named him ʿAlī, saying, "I have given him the name of the most beloved of creation to me." He also gave him the patronymic of Abū al-Ḥasan. When ʿAlī came to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, the latter honored him, seating him on his elevated couch. ʿAbd al-Malik asked him about his patronymic, and ʿAlī told him. ʿAbd al-Malik said, "Among my troops this name and patronymic are not borne together by anyone." Then he inquired if any sons had been born to him. At that time, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī had been born to him. He informed ʿAbd al-Malik of that, and thus ʿAbd al-Malik gave him the patronymic of Abū Muḥammad.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hishām led the pilgrimage while he was governor of Mecca, al-Madīnah, and al-Ṭāʾif. It has been said that the governor of al-Madīnah in this year was Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik and that Muḥammad b. Hishām during it held (only) Mecca

473. He is Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī, governor of al-Madīnah for al-Walīd, Sulaymān and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and also sometimes in charge of the judiciary. His death date is disputed, 100(719), 110(728), 117(735), and 120(738) being given; apparently the last date is correct. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 38–40; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 135–46; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 186, II, 223.

474. Progenitor of the ʿAbbāsids. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās.

475. A ruined site in southern Jordan near al-ʿAqabah, it was the location of the ʿAbbāsid imām's clandestine activities from 98(717) to 131(749). See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥumayma; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 120.

[1593] and al-Ṭā'if, the first statement being that of al-Wāqidī. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh was governor of Iraq, holding the entire East. His governor for Khurāsān was his brother Asad b. ʿAbdallāh, while his governor for al-Baṣrah, (in charge of) its youths (*aḥdāth*), its judiciary, and leading the public worship of its inhabitants was Bilāl b. Abī Burdah. In charge of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān.

The Events of the Year

119

(January 8, 737—December 28, 737)

Among these was the campaign of al-Walīd b. al-Qaʿqāʿ al-ʿAbsī against the territory of the Byzantines.

In this year, Asad b. ʿAbdallāh campainged against al-Khuttal, capturing the castle of Zagharzak.[476] From it, he went to Khidāsh,[477] filling his hands with captives and sheep. Al-Ḥanash[478] had fled to China.

In it, Asad met the Khāqān, the ruler of the Turks, killing him and a great many of his troops, while Asad and the Muslims were unharmed and went away with many spoils and captives.

The Story of This Campaign in al-Khuttal

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Ibn al-Sāʾijī[479] wrote to the Khāqān Abū Muzāḥim—he was only given the patronymic Abū Muzāḥim because he used to put the Arabs in

476. Vocalization and location uncertain.

477. A place name, vocalization and location uncertain.

478. Text: *al-Jaysh;* read: *al-Ḥanash,* throughout the text, as Gibb. He was the blooded heir of al-Sabal. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests,* 81–2.

479. The regent of al-Khuttal. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests,* 82.

hard straits *(yuzāḥim)*—when the latter was at Nawākith[480] to inform him about Asad's having entered al-Khuttal and scattered his
[1594] troops in it, and that he was in a losing situation. When the letter reached the Khāqān, he commanded his troops to make ready. The Khāqān possessed a meadow and a mountain, a protected area which no one drew near to or hunted in. The two were left as a space for (practice) warfare: what was in the meadow for three days and what was in the mountain for three days. In these, they prepared themselves, pasturing (their animals) freely and tanning the freshly flayed skins of the game animals, from which they made containers. They also stocked up bows and arrows. The Khāqān called for a saddled, bridled horse and commanded that an ewe be cut up and hung by leather straps. Then he took some salt, putting it in a bag and attaching it to his belt, and commanded each Turk to do likewise, saying, "This is your ration until you meet the Arabs in al-Khuttal."

He took the road of Khushwarāgh. When Ibn al-Sā'ijī perceived that the Khāqān had drawn near, he sent a message to Asad saying, "Depart from al-Khuttal, for the Khāqān has cast his shadow over you." Asad cursed the messenger and did not believe him. Thereupon the ruler of al-Khuttal sent the message:

"I did not lie to you. I am he who informed the Khāqān of your entry and the scattering of your troops. I told him that it was an opportunity for him and asked him for help. Besides, you have stripped the country bare and taken spoils, so that if he meets you in this condition he will triumph over you. The Arabs have been ever hostile to me for as long as I have been surviving, but the Khāqān has overwhelmed me, his weight has become severe, and he holds me in his obligation by his saying, 'I have expelled the Arabs from your country and returned your rule to you.'"

Asad then knew that he had told the truth. He ordered that the (valuable) heavy baggage[481] be sent ahead and put in charge
[1595] of it Ibrāhīm b. 'Āṣim al-'Uqaylī al-Jazarī, who later governed Sijistān. Asad sent out with him the old men, among them Kathīr

480. According to Gibb, the Khāqān's capital on the Chu River in present-day Kazakhstan, but this is uncertain. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 82; Le Strange, *Lands*, 487. See Cairo ed. for an alternative reading.

481. Shaban thinks this consisted of trade goods destined for China. See Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 127.

b. Umayyah, the father of Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzā'ī, Fuḍayl b. Ḥayyān al-Mahrī, and Sinān b. Dāwūd al-Quṭa'ī. The commander of the Ahl al-'Āliyah[482] was Sinān al-A'rābī al-Sulami, while 'Uthmān b. Shabāb al-Hamadhānī,[483] the grandfather[484] of the judge of Marw, was in charge of receipts. Thus the heavy baggage went on its way.

Asad also wrote to Dāwūd b. Shu'ayb[485] and al-Aṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah[486] al-Kalbī, both of whom he had sent off in a certain direction, saying, "The Khāqān has drawn near; therefore, join the heavy baggage train with Ibrāhīm b. 'Āṣim." Dāwūd and al-Aṣbagh met a Dabūsī who told them a rumor that the Khāqān had defeated the Muslims and killed Asad. Al-Aṣbagh said, "Even if Asad and those with him have been stricken, Hishām is still with us, and we (can) retreat to him." But Dāwūd b. Shuāyb said, "May God make life repugnant after the men of Khurāsān!" Al-Aṣbagh said, "How lovely is life after the men of Khurāsān! Al-Jarrāḥ and those with him were slain, but the Muslims were not much harmed thereby. Even if Asad and the forces of Khurāsān have perished, God will not desert His religion. God is Living, Everpresent, the Commander of the Faithful is living and the Muslims' troops are many." Dāwūd said, "Shall we not see what Asad has done, so that we may depart with (accurate) information?" Thus the two of them went along until they overlooked the camp of Ibrāhīm. (There) they suddenly saw campfires. Dāwūd said, "These are the Muslims' campfires; I see them close together, while the Turks' campfires are (always) scattered." Al-Aṣbagh said, "They are in a narrow place." They drew closer and heard the braying of the donkeys. Dāwūd asked, "Do you not know that the Turks do not have donkeys?" Al-Aṣbagh replied, "They captured them yester- [1596]
day and would not be able to eat them in one day or two." Dāwūd

482. One of the tribal sections (*akhmās*) of al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān, consisting mainly of Muḍarī tribes from central and western Arabia. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 398n.

483. Probably a mawlā, unless his *nisbah* is a mistake for al-Hamdānī.

484. Or: ancestor.

485. Al-Ḥuddānī of the Azd, he later supported al-Kirmānī in 126(744) and 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1861, 1925, 1932.

486. Text: *Dhuwālah*; read: *Dhu'ālah*, as in Cairo ed. A Syrian who later fought for the Yaman in Iraq and Syria during the tribal factionalism. See Crone, *Slaves*, 156.

said, "Let us dispatch two horsemen to shout, 'God is Greater.'" Thus they sent two horsemen out. When they neared the camp they shouted, "God is Greater." The camp answered them with the same shout. Then they approached the camp, in which was the heavy baggage. With Ibrāhīm were the forces of al-Ṣaghāniyān and the Ṣaghān Khudhāh. Ibrāhīm b. 'Āṣim lost no time in breaking camp.

Asad came from al-Khuttal toward Jabal al-Milḥ,[487] intending to ford the River of Balkh.[488] Ibrāhīm b. 'Āṣim had already crossed with the captives and what he had taken (as booty). Asad was overlooking the river at the time when the Khāqān came against him after having travelled from Sūyāb[489] for seventeen nights. Abū Tammām b. Zaḥr and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khanfar, both Azdīs, came to Asad to say, "May God make the amīr prosper! God has given you exemplary success in this campaign, so that you have taken spoils and are unscathed. Therefore, cross this water, leaving it behind your back." But Asad, after ordering that they be beaten on their necks and they be driven out of the camp, remained where he was that day. On the next day, he departed. In the river are twenty-three places where people ford it, and where the river channel is, it reaches the two sides of the saddle. Thus the troops forded it. Asad commanded every man to carry across a sheep, and he (even) carried over a sheep himself. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Muṭarrif b. al-Shikhkhīr said to him, "What you are
[1597] doing in carrying a sheep is not more serious than what you are afraid of. You have scattered the men and diverted their attention while your enemy has cast his shadow over you. Put these sheep aside, may God's curse be upon them, and command the men to make ready (for battle)." Asad responded, "By God, no man who does not have a sheep with him may cross until these sheep are finished but that I will cut off his hand." Thus the men began carrying the sheep, the horseman carrying it in front of him, the foot-soldier around his neck, and they waded in. It is said that when the foreparts of the horses' hooves dug into the river(bed), it became

487. Lit. the Mountain of Salt.
488. Here this means the Oxus. See note 404.
489. Text: *Sūyāt*; read: *Sūyāb* as in Cairo ed. A town of the Turks and their sometime capital on the Chu River near the present Tokmak. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 82; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 195, 201.

mucky[490] in some places. Some of the horsemen were tipping to the side and falling off their mounts. Therefore, Asad commanded that the sheep be thrown away, and the men forded. They had not finished crossing when the Turks came up against them en masse, killing those who had not crossed. The men began charging into the river (to escape).

It is said that the Azd and the Tamīm were responsible for the (rear) guard, the weak among the troops having been left behind. Asad rode into the river, commanding that the camels be brought across to the Transoxanian side, so that they could be loaded with the heavy baggage. A dust cloud approached from the direction of al-Khuttal, which was the Khāqān. When a major part of his troops had fully come up with him, he attacked the Azd and the Banū Tamīm, who retreated. Asad galloped until he reached his camp. He sent a message to those with the heavy baggage whom he had dispatched ahead of him, (saying), "Make camp and fortify your place in the middle of the valley." The Khāqān drew near. The Muslims supposed that he would not cross to them since the river was between them and him. When the Khāqān saw the river, he ordered al-Ishkand, who was at that time the Iṣbahbadh of Nasaf,[491] to go along the battle line until he reached its farthest point, ask- [1598] ing the horsemen and the people of insight regarding warfare and water, "Can the river crossing and attacking Asad be supported (together)?" All of them replied, "It cannot be borne," until he came to al-Ishtīkhan,[492] who said, "Yes, it can be supported, for we are fifty thousand horsemen; thus, if we charge in a single mass, we will throw back the water from each other and its flow will cease." Thereupon they beat on their kettle drums, which Asad and those with him supposed to be only a threat from them. But the Turks made their mounts charge by spurring them on most severely. When the Muslims saw the Turks' charge, they turned (retreating) into their camp. The Turks crossed, causing a great dust cloud to rise by which a man could not even see his mount, nor could they recognize each other. The Muslims entered their

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490. Text: *sibāḥah*; read: *sibākhah*, as in Cairo ed.

491. Text: *Nasā*; read: *Nasaf*, as in Cairo ed.

492. Apparently the local ruler of an important fortified town of the same name seven *farsakhs* due north of Samarqand. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 466; Barthold, *Turkestan* 95–6.

camp, hurrying with what was (still) outside. The slave youths went out with pack-saddle cloths (worn as armor) and tent poles (as weapons) and struck the faces of the Turks, who turned back in flight.

Asad passed the night. When he rose in the morning—having kept his troops in a state of alert through the night in fear of the Khāqān's treachery and his coming (to attack them) before sunrise -and saw nothing, he summoned the chief men to consult them. They said to him, "Accept good health!" Asad responded, "This is not good health; rather, it is a calamity. We met the Khāqān yesterday, and he triumphed over us, capturing troops and weapons. Nothing has kept him from us today except that prisoners have fallen to his hands who have told him about the location of the heavy baggage ahead of us, so that he has given up confronting us out of greed for it." Therefore, Asad broke camp, sending ahead of him scouts, one of whom came back to report to him that he had seen the Turks' green hoods, as well as banners from those belonging to al-Ishkand, but few men. Thus Asad went along, the pack animals being heavily loaded. He was told, "Make camp, O amīr, and accept good health!" He answered, "Where is the good
[1599] health that I accept it? It is naught but a calamity, a loss of souls and wealth!" When it was evening, Asad found himself at a (possible) campsite. He consulted the men as to whether they should make camp or go on. The men said, "Accept good health! What could the loss of property be in comparison to our well-being and the well-being of the troops of Khurāsān?" But Naṣr b. Sayyār was silent. Asad said, "What is the matter with you, O Ibn Sayyār, that you are silent, not speaking?" Naṣr said, "May God make the amīr prosper! Two possible dispositions in your favor (are): if you go, you will aid those who are with the heavy baggage, rescuing them. But if you reach them and find that they have perished, you will have performed a hard task which must be performed." Asad accepted his view and marched on during all of that day.

Asad summoned Saʿīd al-Ṣaghīr,[493] who was a horseman, the mawlā of the Bāhilah, and was knowledgeable about the land of al-Khuttal. Asad wrote a letter to Ibrāhīm commanding him to

493. He later brought aid to Naṣr from Ṭukhāristān in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1920–1.

prepare (for battle), "For the Khāqān has set off in your direction." Asad told Sa'īd, "Go with the letter to Ibrāhīm, to where he was before the night. If you do not do so, Asad will be quit of Islam if he does not kill you. If you join al-Ḥārith, Asad will be responsible for the same oath, if the auctioneer does not sell your wife in the market of Balkh and all the people of your household." Sa'īd said, "Then give me your fine-tailed, dark-bay horse." Asad said, "By my life, if I offered your blood easily and was stingy to you regarding the horse, I would most certainly be vile," and he gave it to him. Sa'īd then went on a mount of those led by the side. His servant boy was on a horse of his and had with him Asad's horse, [1600]
which he led by the side. When he drew opposite the Turks, who had set off after the heavy baggage, their scouts chased him. He transferred to Asad's horse so that they did not overtake him, thus bringing the letter to Ibrāhīm. Some of the scouts followed him—it is said about twenty men—until they saw Ibrāhīm's camp. Then they turned back to the Khāqān, informing him.

The Khāqān attacked the heavy baggage (train) in the earliest morning. Ibrāhīm had dug a trench (for fortification) which the Khāqān came against while the Muslims were guarding it. He ordered the men of al-Sughd to fight them. But when they drew near the Muslims' garrison, the latter rose up in their face, driving them back and killing one of their men. The Khāqān said, "Mount up!" At this point, the Khāqān climbed a hill and began to look for a breach and the direction of the battle.

Then he would do (the following): he would go off alone with two or three men. If he saw a breach, he would order his troops to charge into the area of the gap. When he climbed the hill, he saw behind the camp an island, before which lay a ford. He summoned some of the Turks' commanders and ordered them to cross above the camp by a way he described until they came to the island. Then they were to descend onto the island until they came against the Muslims' camp from behind. He also ordered them to begin (fighting) against the Iranians and the troops of al-Ṣaghāniyān and to leave the others, who were Arabs. He had identified them by their (tent) structures and their banners. He said to the detachment, "If the enemy (forces) stay within their trench but (then) draw near to you, we will enter their trench; if they stay in their trench, enter it against them from behind." The detachment went

in against the Muslims from the Iranians' side, killing the Ṣaghān
[1601] Khudhāh and the whole of his forces and taking possession of their goods. They also entered Ibrāhīm's camp, taking all that was in it. The Muslims gave up their order of battle to gather in a (certain) place, feeling (the likelihood of) annihilation. Suddenly, a cloud of dust and black earth rose, and it was Asad and his troops who had come to (aid) the Muslims. The Turks began to draw back from the Muslims to the place where the Khāqān was. Ibrāhīm was astonished at their withdrawal, since they had been victorious, having killed whom they killed and captured what they captured, while he had no hope in Asad.

Asad had hastened his journey, advancing until he stood on the hill upon which was the Khāqān. The Khāqān moved away in the direction of the mountain. Those who survived among those who had been with the heavy baggage went out to Asad. Many of their men had been slain; on that day were slain Barakah b. Khawlī al-Rāsibī and Kathīr b.[494] Umayyah, along with old men from the Khuzāʿah. The Ṣaghān Khudhāh's wife went out to Asad weeping for her husband, and Asad wept with her until the sound of him (weeping) became loud. The Khāqān moved on, leading the prisoners from Asad's troops in nooses and driving the camels, laden (with spoils), and the slave girls.

Muṣʿab b. ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī and a group of men from among the inhabitants of Khurāsān resolved to intercept the enemy, but Asad restrained them, saying, "These are a people for whom the wind has become pleasing, and they have become savage; therefore, do not interfere with them." With the Khāqān was a man from the companions of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj whom he commanded to call out, "O Asad, is not that which you had in Transoxiana (now) a seat of war? You are most certainly extremely greedy. You were
[1602] disengaged from al-Khuttal, which is the land of my fathers and forefathers." Asad responded, "It was as you saw. It may be that God will wreak vengeance on you."

Kūrmaghānūn,[495] who was one of the Turkish nobles, said, "I have not seen a day better than the Day of the Heavy Baggage (Train)." Someone asked him, "How is that?" He answered, "I gained great wealth and did not see an enemy fouler than the Arab

494. Text: *Abū*; read: *bn* (=b.), as in Cairo ed.
495. Vocalization unknown.

prisoners. When one of them would charge, he would hardly move from his place."

According to certain authorities: The Khāqān came against the heavy baggage. Asad departed (to rescue the baggage train). When the Khāqān looked out from the mountaintop, and the Turks saw the Muslims, they refrained (from attacking). They had fought the Muslims and then held back. (Instead,) they came against the Iranians who were with the Muslims and fought them, capturing their children. Every man among them put a boy or a girl on his horse behind him. Then they drew near Asad's camp at sunset.

Asad went with the men until he encamped with the heavy baggage. The Turks attacked Asad the morning of the next day, which was the day of the breaking of the fast,[496] and almost prevented the Muslims from (their) worship. Then the Turks went away. Asad proceeded to Balkh, encamping in its plain until the winter came. Then the troops scattered into their houses, while Asad entered the city. Regarding this campaign, it was said to him in Persian:

From Khuttalān you have come,
With a destroyed face you have come. [1603]
A fugitive you have come back,
Lowly and emaciated you have come.[497]

Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was in the region of Ṭukhāristān and joined the Khāqān. When it was the eve of the (Feast of) Sacrifice,[498] Asad was told, "The Khāqān has encamped at Jazzah." Asad commanded signal fires (to be lit). After they were raised over the city, the men came from the country districts to the city of Balkh.[499] Asad arose in the morning, performed the worship and spoke to the people, saying:

"God's enemy, al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, has brought his tyrant to put out God's light and change His religion. But God will humiliate him, God willing. Your enemy, the dog, has taken of your brethren whom he has taken. But if God wishes to help you, neither your fewness nor your multitude will harm you. Therefore, seek God's

496. Shawwāl 1, 119(October 1, 737). For chronological difficulties, see Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 81–2.

497. Compare above pp. 1492, 1494.

498. Dhū al-Ḥijjah 9, 119(December 7, 737). See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 83.

499. Text: *Balj*; read: *Balkh*, as in Cairo ed.

help." He also said, "It has reached me that the worshipper is as near as he can be to God when he puts his forehead (to the ground) to (worship) God.[500] I am coming down (from the pulpit) to put my forehead (to the ground). Therefore, pray to God and prostrate yourselves to your Lord, making (your) prayer to him sincere."

They did so, then raised their heads, not doubting victory. Then Asad came down from the pulpit, sacrificed, and consulted the men about going against the Khāqān. Some said, "You are a young
[1604] man and are not of those who have (ever) feared to raid a sheep or a mount. You are taking a risk by your setting out." He responded, "By God, I will set out! Either victory or else martyrdom!"

It is said that the Khāqān drew support from Transoxiana, the inhabitants of Tukhāristān and Jabghūyah[501] al-Ṭukhārī, along with their princes and their *shākiriyyah,* to the number of thirty thousand. They descended on Khulm,[502] where there was a garrison under Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ b. Saʿīd al-ʿabdī. He skirmished with them so that they did not gain any victory from him at all. The enemy marched off in a state of defense on the road of Fayrūz Bakhshīn[503] of Ṭukhāristān. Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ wrote to Asad about their going.

Asad gathered the men together, causing to be read to them the letter of Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ and the letter of al-Furāfiṣah, the garrison commander at Jazzah, (written) after the Khāqān had passed his way. Then Asad consulted the men. Some said, "You (should) take to the gates of the city of Balkh (for your defense) and write to Khālid and to the Caliph, asking him for help." Others said, "You (should) take the road to Zamm and beat the Khāqān to Marw." Some said, "Rather, you (should) go out to them, seeking aid from God against them." The statement of these agreed with Asad's view and what he had resolved on about meeting them (in battle).

It is said that the Khāqān, when he separated from Asad, went up until he was in the land of Ṭukhāristān belonging to

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500. This closely parallels a canonical hadith. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, s.v. Kitāb al-Ṣalāt, Bāb Mā Yuqāl fī al-Rukūʿ wa al-Sujūd.

501. Text: *Jayghūyah;* read: *Jabghūyah,* as in Cairo ed.

502. A small city two stages east of Balkh on the Khulm River, it still exists. See *EI*², s.v. Khulm.

503. Spelling and vocalization uncertain. Gibb has Peroz Nakhsher = Fayrūz Nakhshayr. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests,* 83.

Jabghūyah.[504] When it was the middle of the winter, he advanced, passing by Jazzah, going to al-Jūzjān and sending out raiding parties. [1605] That was because al-Ḥārith b. Surayj told him that Asad would not resist and that he did not have a large force with him. Al-Bakhtarī b. Mujāhid, the mawlā of the Banū Shaybān, said to Asad, "Rather, send the cavalry out until they descend on al-Jūzjān." When he had sent out the cavalry, al-Bakhtarī asked him, "How did you find my opinion?" Asad said, "How did you find God's work when your opinion was adopted?" Asad took one hundred twenty thousand dirhams from Jabalah b. Abī Rawwād, commanding that the men be given twenty each. He had with him Khurāsānī and Syrian troops amounting to seven thousand men. He left as his deputy in charge of Balkh al-Kirmānī b. ʿAlī,[505] commanding him not to let anyone leave its (walled) city, even if the Turks struck the city gate. Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt al-Murāghī[506] of the Azd, Salīm b. Sulaymān, ʿAmr b. Muslim b. ʿAmr, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAtakī, ʿĪsā al-Aʿraj al-Ḥanẓalī, al-Bakhtarī b. Abī Dirham al-Bakrī, Saʿīd al-Aḥmar, and Saʿīd al-Ṣaghīr, the mawlā of the Bāhilah said to Asad, "May God make the amīr prosper! Let us go forth! Do not insult our obedience!" At this, he allowed them (to go forth). Then he went out, encamping at one of the gates of Balkh, where a pavilion was set up for him (consisting of) two tents with two poles each, one of the tents abutting the other. He led the people in a worship of two prostrations, which he made lengthy. Then he faced towards Mecca and called out to the people, "Pray to God," making the invocation long and praying for victory. The people [1606] said "Amen" to his prayer. He said, "You will be given victory, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah." Then he turned away from his prayer, saying three times, "You will be given victory, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah, God willing." Then his crier announced, "God's protection is removed from any man from among the troops who transports a woman." They said, "Asad has only gone forth fleeing." Asad (himself) left behind Umm Bakr, the mother of his children, and his children. He looked about, and, behold, there was a servant

504. See note 501.

505. That is, Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī al-Ma'nī.

506. Or: Ibn Najīb. In 126/744, he urged clemency on Naṣr towards al-Kirmānī. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1863.

girl on a camel. He said, "Ask who this girl belongs to." One of the *asāwirah* went to ask, then came back and said, "To Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Bakrī." Ziyād was sitting (with them). Asad frowned and said, "Will you not stop[507] until I harshly treat a man among you who is dear to me, beating his back and his front?" Ziyād said, "If she is mine, she is free. No, by God, O amīr, I do not have a woman with me, for this[508] is (only) an envious enemy."

Asad went on. When he was at the Bridge of 'Aṭā', he said to Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Kirmānī,[509] who was at that time the deputy of al-Kirmānī in charge of the Azd, "Help me in getting fifty men and mounts to leave behind on this bridge, so that they might not let anyone who crosses it return to it." Mas'ūd said, "From where can I (get) fifty men?" Asad thereupon commanded that he be flung down from his mount and also ordered that he be beheaded. But a group of men went to Asad to speak to him, so that he refrained from (harming) him. When Asad had crossed the bridge, he encamped in a suitable place, staying in it until it was morning. Then he wanted to spend the day (there), but al-'Udhāfir[510] b. Zayd said to him, "Let the amīr consider staying all day in this place so that the men may catch up." Thereupon
[1607] Asad commanded departure, saying, "We have no need for latecomers!" Then he departed. In charge of his vanguard was Sālim b. Manṣūr al-Bajalī[511] with three hundred (men), who met three hundred of the Turks, a reconnaissance party of the Khāqān. Sālim captured their leader and seven (others) of them, while the rest escaped. The leader was brought to Asad. The Turk was weeping. Asad asked, "What makes you cry?" He answered, "I do not weep for myself, but I weep because of the destruction of the Khāqān." Asad asked, "How?" The Turk replied, "Because he has scattered his troops over what is between him and Marw."

507. Text: *yantahūn*; read: *tantahūn*, as in Cairo ed.

508. That is, the man who identified him as owner of the girl.

509. Doubtless a Ma'nī from the Azd and a close relative of Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī. See note 468.

510. Text: *al-Ghudāfir*; read: *al-'Udhāfir*, as in Cairo ed. He was of the Taym Allāh of the Bakr, not the Tamīm. See Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 353.

511. See note 469.

The Campaign of Kharīstān

Asad then went on until he stopped at al-Sidrah, a village by Balkh. In charge of the cavalry of the Ahl al-ʿĀliyah was Rayḥān b. Ziyād al-ʿĀmirī al-ʿAbdallī of the Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb. Asad removed him, putting Manṣūr b. Sālim[512] in charge of the Ahl al-ʿĀliyah. Then he left al-Sidrah, encamping at Kharīstān. Asad heard the neighing of a horse and asked, "Whose is this?" He was told, "It belongs to al-ʿAqqār b. Dhuʿayr." Asad drew a bad omen from the man's name as well as his father's name and said, "Send him back." ʿAqqār said, "I will be killed going out against the Turks!" Asad answered, "May God kill you!" Then Asad went on until he overlooked the hot springs. Bishr b. Razīn—or Razīn b. Bishr—received him. Asad said, "Good news (*bishārah*) and sound judgement (*razānah*)![513] What do you have to report, O Razīn?" Razīn said, "If you do not help us, we will lose our city." Asad responded, "Say to al-Miqdām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to vie with my spear in excellence." Asad went on, encamping two *farsakh*s from the (capital) city[514] of al-Jūzjān. [1608]

Then we arose in the morning, the two cavalry forces having seen each other. The Khāqān asked al-Ḥārith, "Who is this?" Al-Ḥārith answered, 'This is Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and his banner." It is said that scouts of the Khāqān returning to him told him that a spreading cloud of dust had risen from the direction of Balkh. The Khāqān summoned al-Ḥārith and said, "Did you not claim that Asad would not come out to resist? But this dust cloud has come from the direction of Balkh." Al-Ḥārith said, "This is the brigand whom I have told you is one of my companions." Thereupon the Khāqān sent out scouts, saying, "Look whether you see a raised seat or chairs on the camels." When the scouts came (back), they told him that they had seen these things with their own eyes. The Khāqān said, "Brigands do not carry raised seats and chairs. This is Asad who has come against

512. See note 478.

513. Asad here makes a play on the man's name.

514. The capital of al-Jūzjān was either Anbār, now Sar-i-Pul; or more probably al-Yahūdiyyah, now Maymanah; or Kundaram, now Gurziwan, as Gibb thinks. He associates the nearby Kharīstān with Sān, a city in the mountains near Maymanah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 423–6, map VIII opposite p. 335; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 84, 86 n.23; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 79.

you." Asad went on for a *ghalwah* whereupon Sālim b. Junāḥ met him and said, "Be of good cheer, O amīr, I have looked at them, and they do not reach four thousand (men). I hope that the Khāqān may be God's slaughter." Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim, who was travelling along with Asad, said, 'O amīr, make your men set up camp.' But Asad struck his mount in the face, saying, "Had you been obeyed, O Mujashshir, we would not have arrived here." Then he went on not far and said, "O people of the morning, encamp!" They encamped, drawing their mounts near them and taking up arrows and bows. The Khāqān was in the open field in which he had passed that night.

According to 'Amr b. Abī Mūsā: Asad departed when he had performed the early morning worship. He passed through al-Jūzjān, which the Khāqān had devastated, to the extent that his horse-
[1609] men had reached al-Shuburqān.[515] The castles of al-Jūzjān were at that time submissive.[516] Al-Miqdām b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī came to Asad with his warriors and the forces of al-Jūzjān, he being its governor. They offered their services to Asad, but he said, "Remain in your city." However, Asad said to al-Jūzjān b. al-Jūzjān,[517] "Go with me." Al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt al-Murāghī was in charge of the order of battle. He put the Azd, the Banū Tamīm and al-Jūzjān b. al-Jūzjān along with his *shākiriyyah* on the right flank. He added to them the troops of Filasṭīn commanded by Muṣ'ab b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī and the troops of Qinnasrīn commanded by Maghrā'[518] b. Aḥmar. Al-Qāsim set the Rabī'ah on the left flank under Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn, joining to them the troops of Ḥimṣ under Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī[519] and the troops of al-

515. The nearest town of al-Jūzjān to Balkh, which it lies to the west of. Shuburqān still exists under its ancient name. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 426.

516. Or: weak.

517. Apparently the son of the local ruler who rebelled against Qutaybah in 90(709), he reappears with Naṣr in 121(739). Ṭabarī, II/2, 1206, III/2, 1694.

518. Text: *Ṣaghrā'*; read: *Maghrā'*. His full name is Maghrā' b. Aḥmar b. Mālik b. Sāriyah al-Numayrī, a Qaysī from Qinnasrīn whose family appear in Iraq and Khurāsān. Maghrā' later went to Iraq to join the arch-Qaysī Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī in 123(741). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1719–25. For his cousin, see p. 1473 above.

519. Abū Khālid. A Yamanī Syrian commander who came to Khurāsān with Asad in 116–7(734–5), was acting governor of Khurāsān for a brief span in 120(738) and then went to Iraq, where he fought for the Umayyads against the 'Abbāsids but was spared at the capitulation of Wāsiṭ in 132(750) and joined the service of al-Manṣūr, where he is found until at least 146(763). See Ṭabarī, I/3. 68, 116, 125, 223–4, 291–2,

Urdunn[520] under Sulaymān b. 'Amr al-Muqrī[521] from the Ḥimyar. In charge of the vanguard was Manṣūr b. Muslim al-Bajalī,[522] to whom he joined the forces of Damascus under Ḥamlah b. Nu'aym al-Kalbī.[523] He also joined to them the guard, the security force, and the servants of Asad.

The Khāqān placed on the right flank al-Ḥārith b. Surayj and his followers, the king of al-Sughd, the ruler of al-Shāsh, Kharā Bughrah (the father of Khānākhurrah,[524] who was the grandfather of Kāwūs[525]),the ruler of al-Khuttal, Jabghūyah and all the Turks. When the armies met, al-Ḥārith and those with him of the Sughdī troops, al-Bābiyyah[526] and others charged against the left flank (of the Muslims), in which were the Rabī'ah and two of the divisions of Syrian troops. Al-Ḥārith routed them, so that nothing stopped [1610] them before (they reached) Asad's tent. At this, the right wing, consisting of the Azd, the Banū Tamīm, and (the forces of) al-Jūzjān, came to their support. They had hardly reached the left flank before al-Ḥārith and the Turks fled. Then the Muslims attacked all together. Asad said, "O God, they have disobeyed me; but help them!" The Turks went (fleeing) through the land randomly, not turning against anyone. The Muslims pursued them for a distance of three *farsakh*s, killing whomever they could, until they reached their spoils, (from which) they carried off more than 155,000[527] sheep and many beasts of burden. The Khāqān took a road other than the main one into the mountains, while al-Ḥārith b. Surayj protected him. Asad overtook them about noon.

It is said than when Asad stood against the Khāqān on the Day of Kharīstān, a deep river lay between them. Asad ordered that his tent be taken up. A man of the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah said,

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318, 327; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 328, II, 253; *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'*, 211b.

520. Text: *al-Azd*; read: *al-Urdunn*. This is the only Syrian *jund* herein omitted. Al-Azd is never referred to as Ahl al-Azd.

521. Text: *al-Maqrī*; read: *al-Muqrī*.

522. See note 469.

523. He appears in a delegation from Naṣr to Hishām in 123(741). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1721–4.

524. Apparently the same as Khānākhurrah or Khārākhurrah, the Prince of Ushrūsanah in 178(794). See Ṭabarī, I/3, 631.

525. Ruler of Ushrūsanah to 207(822). See Ṭabarī, III/3, 1066.

526. Probably Sughdīs. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 87.

527. Probably better read as one hundred fifty thousand. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 205.

"O men of Syria! Is your opinion like this? If[528] the (enemy) forces appear, do you take up the tents?" Asad commanded that he be thrown down. The wind of war named "the light one" arose. God defeated them. They faced the direction of Mecca, praying to God and shouting, "God is Greater!" The Khāqān approached with nearly four hundred horsemen, (their faces) dyed red. A man called Sūrī said, "You are the king of al-Jūzjān only if you keep the Arabs safe. Whomever you see among the men of al-Jūzjān turning away (to flee), kill him." Al-Jūzjān said to 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhir, "I certainly know my country and its roads. Will you participate in a matter that will cause the Khāqān to perish and for which you will be remembered as long as you live?" 'Uthmān asked, "What is it?" Al-Jūzjān continued, "That you follow me."
[1611] 'Uthmān said, "Yes." Al-Jūzjān took a road named Warādak,[529] so that they overlooked the Khāqān's round tents from safety. The Khāqān commanded the kettle drums to be beaten with the order to march away, but the fighting had flared so that the Turks could not depart. Then the drums were struck a second time, but they still could not (leave). Then they were beaten a third time, but (still) they could not (leave), owing to their being engaged. Ibn al-Shikhkhir and al-Jūzjān then charged the tents. The Khāqān turned away in flight, the Muslims taking possessior of the Turks' camp. The Turks left behind their pots, (still) boiling, and women, including some Arab and mawālī women, and some Turkish women. The Khāqān's horse sank into the mire with him, but al-Ḥārith b. Surayj protected him.

The Muslims did not know that it was the Khāqān. The Turks' camp was found crammed with every kind of silver vessel, and with Turkish women who play the cymbals. The eunuch tried to bear the Khāqān's wife away, but the Muslim troops prevented him from that. Therefore, he stabbed her with a dagger. They found her moving and took her shoes of quilted wool.

Asad sent the Turkish slave girls to the *dihqāns* of Khurāsān and rescued those of the Muslims who were in their hands. Asad remained (where he was) for five days.

The Turkish cavalry which had been scattered would come back, and Asad would capture them. Thus he took victory as his

528. Text *idh;* read: *idhā*, as in Cairo ed.
529. Vocalization uncertain.

spoil and returned to Balkh on the ninth day from his setting out. Ibn al-Sijf al-Mujāshi'ī said:

If you were to travel in the land measuring the land,
Measuring of it its length and its breadth,
You would not find one better in strength and destructive power
Than the amīr Asad, nor one sharper. [1612]
He brought goodness to us when he went forth,
Bringing together our unity which was scattered.
The Khāqān did not escape him except by running;
There had broken up of his multitudes that which had broken up.
O Ibn Surayj, you have found bitter herbs,
Bitter herbs by which the headache of sick people is cured.

Asad departed, encamping at Jazzah of al-Jūzjān on the next day. The Khāqān was at it also but departed, fleeing from Asad. Asad urged the men on, and many troops from the forces of Syria and the forces of Iraq answered his summons. He made Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī their commander. They set out, stopping to pass the night at a city named Ward[530] in the territory of Jazzah. They were hit by wind and rain and—it is said—by snow, wherefore they returned. The Khāqān went on his way, stopping at (the place of) Jabghūyah al-Ṭukhārī. Al-Bahrānī went back to Asad, who returned to Balkh. He met the Turkish cavalry that had been at Marw al-Rūdh when they were going off to raid Balkh. The Muslims slew whom they could of them. The Turks had reached the synagogue[531] of Marw al-Rūdh. On that day, Asad captured four thousand shirts of mail. When he reached Balkh, he ordered the people to fast (in thanksgiving) for God's having granted them victory.

Asad sometimes sent out al-Kirmānī with raiding parties. These did not cease to capture one, two, three and more men of the Turks. The Khāqān went away to Upper Ṭukhāristān and stayed with Jabghūyah al-Kharlukhī, strenghthening himself through him. He commanded kettle drums to be made. When they had [1613] dried and their sounds had become good enough, he departed

530. Vocalization uncertain.
531. Or: church.

for his own country. When he came to Ushrūsanah,[532] Kharā Bughrah[533] —the father of Khānākhurrah, who was the grandfather of Afshīn[534] —met him with entertainers and prepared presents for him, as well as mounts for him and his troops. The relations between the two of them, however, were strained. When the Khāqān returned defeated, Kharā Bughrah desired to ingratiate himself with him; therefore, he brought him everything he could. Then the Khāqān came to his own country and began to prepare for fighting and laying siege to Samarqand. He transported al-Ḥārith and his forces on five thousand horses and also distributed horses among the Turks' commanders.

One day, the Khāqān played Kūrṣūl at backgammon for the stake of a partridge. Kūrṣūl al-Turqashī won the game and sought the partridge, saying, "A female!" while the other said, "A male!" Thus they fought each other. Kūrṣūl broke the Khāqān's hand, whereupon the Khāqān swore that he would certainly break Kūrṣūl's hand. Kūrṣūl was worn out and therefore withdrew. He gathered a multitude of his companions and attacked the Khāqān by night, killing him. When the Turks arose in the morning, they scattered, leaving him stripped. Zurayq[535] b. Ṭufayl al-Kushānī and the household of the Ḥamūkiyyūn, who are among the important Turkish nobles, came to the Khāqān to carry him away for burial and to do with him what is done with the like of him when he is slain. The Turks split into factions, making raids on one another . Some of them withdrew to al-Shāsh. When that happened,
[1614] the people of al-Sughd became desirous of returning to their land. None of the Turkish horsemen who scattered in (the) raids came through safely except for Zarābin al-Kissī[536] He went safely until he reached Ṭukhāristān.

Asad had sent forth Sayf b. Waṣṣāf al-ʿIjlī on horseback from

532. Text: *Shurūsanah*; read: *Ushrūsanah*, as usually in al-Ṭabarī, though Shurūsanah may be an alternative spelling, among others. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 474.

533. This suggests Kharā Bughrah was not on the campaign with the Khāqān, contradictiong the version given on p. 1609 above. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 471–2n.

534. The famous commander of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim, executed 226(841). For him and this family generally, see EI^2, s.v. Afshīn.

535. Or possibly Zarīn, as in Ms. B.

536. The name is perhaps corrupt; it could be Zarīn al-Kushānī and thus might refer to the person mentioned as Zurayq on the preceding page.

the city of Balkh. He travelled until he stopped at al-Shuburqān, where Ibrāhīm b. Hishām was in charge of a garrison. The latter forwarded Sayf from al-Shuburqān on the horses of the post, until he came to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, to whom he gave the news. On hearing of it, (the Caliph) Hishām reckoned the matter unlikely and therefore did not believe it. He said to al-Rabī',[537] his chamberlain (*ḥājib*), "Woe to you! This old man has brought us the greatest calamity if[538] he be truthful, though I do not think him truthful. Go visit him; then, ask him about what he says and return to me with that." Al-Rabī' went off to him to do that which he had been ordered to do. The messenger told him what he had told Hishām. Thereupon the Caliph was struck by a great concern, so that he summoned the man again and asked, "Who is al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt among you?" The man answered, "That (man) is the master of the camp." The Caliph said, "He has now come." The messenger said, "If he has come, then God has given victory to the Commander of the Faithful." Asad had sent al-Qāsim when God had given him victory. Al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt arrived at the door, shouting, "God is Greater." Then he entered, shouting, "God is Greater," while Hishām responded to his shout by shouting, "God is Greater," until Al-Qāsim reached him. Al-Qāsim then said, "Victory, O Commander of the Faithful!" and told him the news. Hishām came down from his raised seat and made a prostration of thanksgiving, which is for them is one prostration.

The Qaysiyyah were jealous of Asad and Khālid. They advised Hishām to write to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh to command his brother [1615]
to send Muqātil b. Ḥayyān (to confirm the news). Thus he wrote to him. Asad summoned Muqātil b. Ḥayyān into the presence of the people and said, "Go to the Commander of the Faithful. Tell him what you saw with your own eyes. Say the truth, for you will not say other than the truth, God willing. Take from the treasury what you require." The people said, "In that case, he will not take anything." Asad said, "Give him so much of money and so much of clothing," equipping him. Then he went on his way

537. He is al-Rabī' b. Sābūr, the mawlā of the Banū al-Harīsh. More precisely, he was in charge of the privy seal (*khātam*) and also, from 109(727), the guard (*ḥaras*). His name indicates an Iranian origin. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 545; Kubaysī, *'Aṣr Hishām*, 68–9, 85.

538. Text: *idh*; read: *idhā*, as in Cairo ed.

and came to Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik when he and al-Abrash were both sitting. Hishām asked him (what news he had). Muqātil said, "We campaigned in al-Khuttal, gaining a great spoil. Asad was warned about the Turks, but we did not concern ourselves with them until they overtook us, rescued some of what we had taken as spoils, and plundered part of our camp. Then they threw us back near Khulm. Our troops reached their winter quarters thereafter. Then we heard about the Khāqān's journeying to al-Jūzjān while we were yet fresh from having fought with the enemy. Asad brought us along until we met (the enemy) in a district between us and the land of al-Jūzjān. We fought them, they having captured some of the Muslims' families. They attacked our left, causing it to retreat. Then our right attacked them. God gave us victory over them so that we pursued them for several *farsakhs*, until we plundered the Khāqān's camp, and he was driven out of it."

Hishām had been reclining on his side but sat up straight at the mention of the Khāqān's camp. He said three times, "You plundered the Khāqān's camp?!" Muqātil said, "Yes." Hishām asked, "Then what?" Muqātil answered, "They entered al-Khuttal and
[1616] went away." Hishām said, "Asad is certainly weak!" Muqātil interposed, "Gently, O Commander of the Faithful, Asad is not weak. He could not have endured (doing) beyond what he did."

Hishām asked him, "Your need?" Muqātil answered, "Yazīd b. al-Muhallab unrightfully took a hundred thousand dirhams from my father Ḥayyān." Hishām said to him, "I will not require you to provide a witness. Swear by God that it is as you said." Muqātil swore, whereupon Hishām restored the money to him from the treasury of Khurāsān, writing to Khālid that he write to Asad about it. Khālid wrote to him, at which Asad gave Muqātil a hundred thousand dirhams, which he divided among the heirs of Ḥayyān according to the Book of God and His requirements. It is said, rather, he wrote to Asad that he investigate that (matter) and, if what Muqātil had mentioned were true, that he be given a hundred thousand dirhams. He who brought (news of) the victory of Khurāsān to Marw was ʿAbd al-Salām b. al-Ashhab b. ʿUbayd[539] al-Ḥanẓalī.

Asad sent a delegation to Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh regarding his rout

539. Text: *ʿUtbah*; read: *ʿUbayd*, as in Ms. B. He is the son of the famous scout of the Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Dārim. See note 104.

(of the Turks) on the Day of Sān.[540] They had with them the Khāqān's round tents and the heads of the Turks who were slain. Khālid sent them on to Hishām, who made them swear they were telling the truth. Thus they swore, whereupon Hishām gave them gifts. Abū al-Hindī al-Asadī said to Asad commemorating the Day of Sān:

Abū Mundhir, you eagerly desired (certain) matters and hence
took their measure,
Persistently asking about them like a covetous bargainer. [1617]
No possessor of informed opinion among the people, when you
compare him
With your own view is except like (a holder of) the opinion of
dumb animals.
Abū Mundhir, if not for your going (to battle), there would have
been no
Iraq, nor would the Iranians' kings have been subordinated,
Nor would any rider have made the pilgrimage to God's house
since pilgrimages have been made to it,
Nor would al-Baṭḥā'[541] have been inhabited after the seasons
(of pilgrimage).
How many a dead man between Sān and Jazzah,
Having many powers, from among great kings,
Did you leave in the land of al-Jūzjān, whom beasts of prey
And eagles visit, that they may tear at the backs of necks?
(And how many) a possessor of subjects, in whom the sword took
its course,
But who has a last breath of life, while birds of prey hover
around him?
(And how many) a fugitive from us and a submitter to us,
A captive who endures fetters unknown?
Souls from the Tamīm and the 'Āmir redeemed you,
And from the Muḍar al-Ḥamrā', during difficult straits,
They[542] made the Khāqān covetous concerning us, so that [1618]
the followers he brought with him

540. A city of al-Jūzjān near Maymanah. See note 514.

541. A place near Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 446.

542. This can hardly refer to the Tamīm, 'Āmir, and Muḍar just mentioned in the preceding line.

Began hoping to get possession of spoils.

At his death, al-Sabal had charged Ibn al-Sā'ijī, at the time he made him his successor,[543] with three arrangements, saying: "Do not treat the people of al-Khuttal high-handedly as I did, for I am a prince, but you are not a prince. You are only a man from among them. They will not bear on your account what they will bear from the princes. Do not cease demanding al-Ḥanash until you return him to your country, for he is the prince after me. Princes represent rule, and whenever the people have no rule, they are a vile mass. Do not make war on the Arabs, but trick them with every trick by which you can hold them at bay."

Ibn al-Sā'ijī responded to al-Sabal, "As for what you mentioned about my leaving aside high-handed behavior toward the people of al-Khuttal, I already know that. As for what you have enjoined regarding bringing al-Ḥanash back, the prince has spoken the truth. But as for your statement, 'Do not make war on the Arabs,' how can you forbid making war on them when you were the most warlike of princes toward them?"

Al-Sabal answered, "You have done well to ask about what you do not know. I have tried your strength compared with my strength but did not find you came up to my level. When I battled the Arabs, I did not escape except half dead. If you were to fight them, you would all perish in your first battle with them."

[1619] Al-Ḥanash had fled to China. It was Ibn al-Sā'ijī who informed Asad b. 'Abdallāh about the movement of the Khāqān. Thus Asad disliked making war on Ibn al-Sā'ijī.

In this year, al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd[544] and Bayān[545] rebelled with a small party of men. Khālid arrested and executed them.

The Execution of al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd and Bayān

As for al-Mughīrah b. Sa 'īd, he was—according to what has been

543. Or rather, regent for his son. See note 479.

544. Al-'Ijlī or, according to Ibn Qutaybah, the mawlā of the Bajīlah. It is likely that he was a mawlā, as extreme Shī'itc ideas are attributed to him. His execution took place near Wāsiṭ. See Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 146–9; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 31; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1700.

545. Bayān b. Sam'ān al-Tamīmī, another Shī'ite. See Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 148.

reported—a sorcerer.

According to Ibn Humayd[546]—Jarīr[547]—al-A'mash:[548] I heard al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd say, "If I wanted to resurrect 'Ād, Thamūd[549] and many generations between them, I would resurrect them." Al-A'mash continued: Al-Mughīrah would go out to the graveyard and speak, at which the like of locusts would be seen on the tombs, or in any case, he said something like this.

According to Abū Nu'aym[550] —al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad[551] —Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā:[552] A man from among the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah came to us seeking knowledge. He was staying with us. One day, I ordered my servant girl to buy two dirhams' worth of fish for me. Then I went off with the man from al-Baṣrah to al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd. He asked me, "O Muḥammad, would you like me to tell you why your eyebrows are separated?" I answered, "No." He asked, "Would you like me to tell you why your family named you Muḥammad?" I replied, "No." He said, "Have you not sent your servant to buy [1620]
two dirhams' worth of fish for you?" Then we rose and left him.

According to Abū Nu'aym: Al-Mughīrah used to study sorcery. Then Khālid al-Qasrī arrested, executed and hung him in public display.

According to Abū Zayd—Abū Bakr b. Ḥafṣ al-Zuhrī[553] —Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl—Sa'īd b. Mardāband, the mawlā of 'Amr

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546. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Ḥayyān al-Tamīmī al-Rāzī d. 248(862). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31.

547. Abū 'Abdallāh Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Qurṭ al-Ḍabbī al-Rāzī 107(725) or 110(728)–188(804). He was born in a village near Iṣfahān and therefore probably a mawlā. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 75–7.

548. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Kūfī, the mawlā of the Kāhil of the Asad, 60(680) or 61(681)–148(765). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 222–6; *EI*², s.v. al-A'mash.

549. Ancient Arabian peoples mentioned in the Qur'ān as destroyed by God for their iniquities.

550. Al-Faḍl b. 'Amr, nicknamed Dukayn, b. Ḥammād b. Zuhayr b. Dirham al-Mulā'ī al-Kūfī, the mawlā of the family of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Taymī, 130(748)–219(834). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 270–6; *EI*², s.v. Abū Nu'aym.

551. Probably Abū 'Abdallāh al-Marwazī, the mawlā of the 'Āmir of the Quraysh, d. 183(800). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 444–5.

552. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī, d. 148(765), the judge of al-Kūfah for Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 301–3; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, III, 129–144.

553. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Madanī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 188–9.

b. Ḥurayth:[554] I saw Khālid when he was brought al-Mughīrah and Bayān with six or seven men. He ordered his raised seat, whereupon it was brought out to the Friday mosque. He commanded bundles of reeds and tar to be brought. Then he ordered al-Mughīrah to take up a bundle, but the latter shrank from it faintheartedly and delayed. Lashes were rained down on his head, whereupon he took up the bundle, embracing it. He was tied to it; then tar was poured over him and over the bundle. Then fire was kindled on both of them, and they were consumed. Khālid ordered the followers (to do likewise), and they did so. He now commanded Bayān, the last of them, who hastened to come to the bundle and embrace it. Khālid said, "Woe to you! Do you act foolishly in everything? Did you not see this al-Mughīrah?" Then he burned him.

According to Abū Zayd: When Khālid slew al-Mughīrah and Bayān, he sent a messenger to Mālik b. Aʿyan al-Juhanī. He interrogated him, believed him regarding himself and released him. When Mālik was alone with those he trusted, among whom was Abū Muslim the (later) master of Khurāsān, he said:

I struck for him an open path between the two roads
And muddied the sun for him among those who muddy it.
[1621] I threw him into doubt when he questioned me,
As a letter *sīn* and its *shīn* are confused in handwriting.

Abū Muslim said when his affair appeared, "Had I found him, I would have killed him for his admission against himself."

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr[555]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: Al-Mughīrah b. Saʿīd rebelled with seven men who were called 'the servants.' Their rebellion took place outside of al-Kūfah. Khālid al-Qasrī, being told of their rebellion while he was on the pulpit, said, "Give me a drink of water!" Ibn Nawfal[556] reproached him

554. ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, a wealthy notable of al-Kūfah. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 333.

555. His father was Abū Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Ḥarb b. Shaddād al-Nasāʾī, the mawlā of the Ḥarīsh, a Baghdādī traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 342–4; Ṭabarī, Indices, 15.

556. Abū Maʿmar Yaḥyā b. Nawfal al-Ḥimyarī, a Kūfan of an Arab father and non-Arab mother (*muwallad*). The incident referred to here is famous. See Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 50, 122, II, 266–7, III, 205, *Ḥayawān*, II, 267, VI, 390; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 31–2, 54; Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn*, III, 48, *Shiʿr wa Shuʿarāʾ*, 741–5.

for that, saying:

O Khālid, may God not reward you with good,
    And a penis in your mother's vagina as an amīr!
You wish for glory among the Qays and the Qasr,
    As if you were from the leaders of the Banū Jarīr.[557]
Your mother is a servile non-Arab and your father a scoundrel,
    Lowly followers are not equal to the chiefs.
Jarīr is of the possessors of authentic Yamanī (blood),
    Noble of origin, a possessor of great eminence,
While you claim to be from Yazīd,[558]
    But have been removed as a yearling ewe or goat (when it is weaned).
You were before al-Mughīrah a wretched slave
    Pissing out of fear of (mere) bellowing.
You said, owing to what had stricken you, 'Give me
    A drink'; then you pissed on your raised seat,
Because of eight (men) and a man [1622]
    Of great age who did not possess any helper.

In this year, Bahlūl b. Bishr,[559] nicknamed Kuthārah, led a Khārijite revolt and was killed.

The Rebellion and Execution of Bahlūl b. Bishr

According to Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā: Bahlūl would worship (much). He would have with him food the weight of a dāniq. He became famous for being bold with Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. He went forth intending to make the pilgrimage and ordered his servant to buy a dirham's worth of vinegar, but this servant came to him with wine (instead). Bahlūl ordered the servant to return and recover the dirham, but the shopowner did not fulfill his request. Bahlūl came then to the governor of the town, which was in the Sawād,[560] and spoke to him. The governor

557. The reference is to the descendents of Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, whose house had the greatest prominence among the Bajīlah before the rise of Khālid. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 224; Crone, *Slaves*, 114–5.

558. Khālid's grandfather.

559. Yaʿqūbī gives as his name Bahlūl b. ʿUmayr al- Shaybānī. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 387.

560. The alluvial plane of Iraq. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Sawād.

said, "Wine is better than you and your people." Bahlūl went on with his pilgrimage until he finished it, and was now resolved to rebel against the authorities. At Mecca, he met those having a like opinion. They made an appointment with each other (to meet) in one of the villages of the district of al-Mawṣil. Forty men gathered there, making al-Bahlūl their amīr. They unanimously resolved not to pass anyone without telling him that they had come from Hishām to take up certain administrative posts and[561] that he had sent them to Khālid so that the latter might install them in their offices. Thus they did not pass an official but that they in-
[1623] formed him of that (arrangement) and took mounts belonging to the post.

When they reached the town in which the servant had sought to buy vinegar but had been given wine, Bahlūl said, "Let us begin with this governor who said what he said." But his companions said to him, "We want to kill Khālid! If we start with this one, we will become known, and Khālid and others will be warned about us. Therefore, we adjure you by God that you (not) kill this one, for then Khālid—who tears down mosques, builds synagogues and churches, appoints Zoroastrians in preference to Muslims, and gives Muslim women in marriage to dhimmīs—would escape from us. It may be that we will kill him, and God will thereby deliver us from him." Bahlūl answered, "By God, I will not discard what is obligatory for me for what follows! I hope to kill this one who said to me what he said and to catch up with Khālid and to kill him (too). If I leave this one and come to Khālid, our business will become known, so that this one will escape. God has said, 'Fight those of the unbelievers who are near to you, and let them find endurance in you!'"[562] His companions said, "As you decide."

Thus they came to the governor and slew him. Thereby being warned of them and knowing that they were Khārijites, the people hastened to the road in flight. Meanwhile, postal riders went forth to Khālid, telling him that some Khārijites had rebelled, but they did not yet know who was their leader. Khālid went forth

561. Text: *wajjahahum;* read: *wa wajjahahum,* as in Cairo ed., relying on other manuscript evidence.
562. Qur'ān 9:123.

from Wāsiṭ, until he came to al-Ḥīrah.[563] At that time, he was with troops, as in those days a Syrian commander from the Banū al-Qayn had arrived with an army which had been sent as aid for Khālid's governor of India, and these were encamped at al- [1624] Ḥīrah. Owing to that, Khālid headed for it. Then he summoned their commander, saying, "Fight these rebels! Whoever kills one of their men, I will give him a stipend in addition to that received in Syria and will excuse him from going forth to the territory of India." Going out to the land of India was onerous to them, therefore they hastened to accept that offer, saying, "We will kill that bunch and return to our own country."

Thus al-Qaynī went against the Khārijites with six hundred men, to whom Khālid joined two hundred from the security forces of al-Kūfah. They met on the Euphrates. Al-Qaynī arranged his troops and dismissed the Kūfan security forces, saying, "Do not be with us." He only intended by that that he and his men be left alone with the enemy. As such, the victory would be theirs without (the help of) others, owing to what Khālid had promised them. Bahlūl came out against them and asked who their commander was, so that he might learn his location. Then he waited for him with a black standard. After this, he bore down on him, stabbing him in the gap in his armor and running him through. Al-Qaynī said, "You have slain me, may God kill you!" Bahlūl said, "To the hellfire, may God banish you!" The Syrian troops then fled with the security forces of al-Kūfah until they reached the gate of al-Kūfah, while Bahlūl and his men kept killing them. As for the Syrians, they were on fleet horses and thus escaped them. But as for the Kūfan security forces, he overtook them. They said, "Fear God regarding us, for we are forced, compelled!" But he began smiting their heads with spears, saying, "Catch up! Deliverance! Deliverance!"

Al-Bahlūl found on al-Qaynī a money bag, which he took. In al-Kūfah were six persons who held the opinion of al-Bahlūl. They went out in his direction intending to join him but were slain. Al-Bahlūl went forth to where they were, carrying the money bag [1625] with him. He said, "Who slew these persons, so that I may give him these dirhams?" Thereupon this one began to say, "I did,"

563. A famous Iraqi city beside al-Kūfah near the Euphrates. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥīra.

and that one, "I," until he learned who they were, while they thought that he had come from Khālid to give them money for their slaying of those who were slain. Then Bahlūl asked the people of the village, "Did these speak the truth? Did they slay the band?" They answered, "Yes." Bahlūl had feared that they claimed it out of greed for money. He said to the people of the village, "You go away." Then he ordered those (who had slain his followers) to be killed. His companions faulted him, but he argued with them until they accepted his argument.

Khālid heard of the defeat of the force (of al-Qaynī) as well as the news of those killed from the people of Ṣarīfīn.[564] Therefore, he dispatched a commander from the Banū Shaybān, one of the sons of Ḥawshab b. Yazīd b. Ruwaym.[565] He met the enemy between al-Mawṣil and al-Kūfah, but al-Bahlūl dealt with (his) force severely, whereupon the commander said, "I beg of you on behalf of our close relationship, for I am going over to (you), seeking refuge." At this, Bahlūl left him alone while his men were defeated. They came to Khālid, who was staying at al-Kūfah, waiting. Nothing frightened him except the routed army suddenly coming upon him.

Al-Bahlūl set off on the same day heading for al-Mawṣil. The governor of al-Mawṣil was afraid of him and therefore wrote to Hishām that rebels had gone out to create havoc and ruin and that he did not feel that his province was safe. He asked him for troops with which to fight them. Hishām wrote back to him, "Send Kuthārah b. Bishr against them." Hishām did not know al-Bahlūl except by his nickname. At this, the governor wrote to
[1626] him, "The rebel *is* Kuthārah!"

Then al-Bahlūl said to his followers, "By God, we will not do anything to the son of the Christian woman (meaning Khālid). I did not rebel except for God. Therefore, why do we not seek out the head who has given power to Khālid and Khālid's relations?" Thereupon he set out, heading for Hishām in Syria. Hishām's gov-

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564. Apparently the large village next to 'Ukbarā' on the Tigris on the way from al-Kūfah to al-Mawṣil. Presumably it belonged then to al-Kūfah, which accounts for Yāqūt's seeming duplication of it. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 403–4.

565. Al-Shaybānī. Ḥawshab had had charge of al-Ḥajjāj's security force in al-Kūfah. For his complete *nasab*, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 147, II, 322; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 325.

ernors feared he would break out in anger if they let al-Bahlūl pass through their lands in order to reach Syria. Thus Khālid mobilized against him troops from the inhabitants of Iraq. The governor of al-Jazīrah mobilized against him troops from the inhabitants of al-Jazīrah, and Hishām dispatched troops from the inhabitants of Syria. They gathered at a monastery between al-Jazīrah and al-Mawṣil. Bahlūl advanced until he reached them. It is said that they met at al-Kuḥayl[566] below al-Mawṣil. Bahlūl advanced to encamp at the gate of the monastery. His opponents said to him, "Draw back from the gate of the monastery so that we may come out to (fight) you." Thereupon he moved aside, and they emerged. When he saw their multitude, while he had only seventy (men) with him, he made right and left wings of his followers and asked (his opponents), "Does every one of you hope to kill us and then go back to his hometown to find his family safe?" They answered, "We hope for that, God willing." Then one of them attacked him, but Bahlūl slew him and said, "As for this one, he will never go back to his family!" He did not cease persisting in that until he had slain six of their men. At this, they were beaten and reentered the monastery, whereupon Bahlūl besieged them.

But reinforcements came to his opponents, so that they were twenty thousand. His followers said to him, "Should we not slaughter our mounts, then attack them in one charge?" He answered, "Do not do so until we offer to God an excuse for holding back from (slaughtering) our mounts for as long as we have held back."[567] The rebels fought the government forces all day long into the late afternoon, until they had left many killed and wounded [1627]
among them. Then Bahlūl and his followers slaughtered their riding beasts, went on foot and drew their swords against their enemy, causing them injury. Bahlūl's followers were mostly slain, while he fought on, defending his men. A man from the Jadīlah of the Qays nicknamed Abū al-Mawt[568] attacked him, stabbing him and knocking him down. Those of Bahlūl's followers who survived came to him and said to him, "Designate someone to

566. A city on the west side of the Tigris between the mouths of the two Zāb rivers. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam,* IV, 439.

567. That is, "Let us fight well for as long as we can before we slaughter our mounts to prevent their capture and make a desperate last charge."

568. That is, the Father of Death, not a normal patronymic.

be in charge after you." Bahlūl said, "If I perish, the Commander of the Faithful is to be Di'āmah al-Shaybānī. If Di'āmah perishes, the Commander of the Faithful is to be 'Amr al-Yashkurī." But Abū al-Mawt had only struck al-Bahlūl by stealth. Bahlūl died the same night. When his companions arose in the morning, Di'āmah fled and left them. A man from their poets said:

Di'āmah is the worst Commander of the Faithful,
 A pillar[569] who in war is the worst of supports.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays[570] said, eulogizing Bahlūl and his followers:

I have been given in exchange, after Abū Bishr and his companions,
 A people who are helpers with the divisions against me,
As if they were not of our comradeship,
 Nor were intimate friends of ours yesterday.
O eye, shed your tears in continuous flow
 And weep on our behalf for companions and brothers who have departed,
They left for us the outward appearance of the world and its hidden aspect
 And have become neighbors in gardens of immortality.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah: When Bahlūl was slain, 'Amr al-Yashkurī went out in rebellion but was soon killed. Then al-'Anazī,[571] the companion of al-Ashhab—and by this he was known—rebelled against Khālid with sixty men. Khālid dis-
[1628] patched al-Simṭ b. Muslim al-Bajalī against him with four thousand (men). They met in the vicinity of the Euphrates. Al-'Anazī attacked al-Simṭ, but the latter smote him between his fingers, so that he threw down his sword, his hand being paralyzed. After this, al-Simṭ charged al-'Anazī's men, and the Ḥarūriyyah were defeated. The slaves of the people of al-Kūfah and their vulgar people met them and threw stones at them until they slew them.

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569. *Di'āmah* means 'pillar' or 'support' in Arabic.

570. Al-Shaybānī, the famous Khārijite leader who subjugated Iraq in 127(745) and fell fighting Marwān b. Muḥammad in 128(746). See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al- Shaybānī.

571. Ibn al-Athīr has al-Bakhtarī. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 212.

The Execution of Wazīr al-Sakhtiyānī

According to Abū 'Ubaydah: Then Wazīr al-Sakhtiyānī rebelled against Khālid with a small number of men. His rebellion took place at al-Ḥīrah. He would not pass by a village but that he would burn it, nor by a person but that he would kill him. He got control over what was there and over the treasury. Khālid sent against him a commander from among his companions and a detachment from the security forces of al-Kūfah. They fought him, while he had with him a very small number of men. Wazīr fought on until most of his companions were slain and he was badly wounded. He was taken captive half-dead and brought to Khālid. He approached Khālid, admonishing him and reciting for him verses from the Qur'ān. What Khālid heard from him pleased him, so that he refrained from killing him, but rather he incarcerated him in his prison. During his nights, Khālid kept sending for Wazīr to be brought to him so that he might converse with him and ask him questions. That reached Hishām and so Khalīd was denounced to him. It was said, "He has taken a Harūrī who has killed, burned and plundered property, has allowed him to live and has (even) adopted him as a companion for evening entertainment." Hishām became enraged and wrote to Khālid, cursing him and saying, "Do not allow an offender who has killed, burned, and plundered property to live." Khālid used to say, "I console myself with his company against death," owing to what he would hear of his elucidation and eloquence. He wrote to Hishām regarding him and softened (the seriousness of) the matter—and it
is said, rather, he did not write but delayed his affair and put it [1629]
off—until Hishām wrote to him rebuking him and commanding him to execute Wazīr and burn him. When (such) a command of resolve which he could not put off came to Khālid, he sent for Wazīr and for the small number of men of his companions who had been taken with him. Then he ordered that they be brought into the mosque. Bundles of reeds were also brought in, to which they were tied. Then tar was poured over them, and they were brought out and set up in the courtyard, where fire was tossed onto them. There was not one of them but that he was troubled and showed anxiety, all except for Wazīr, who did not move and kept reciting the Qur'ān until he died.

In this year, Asad b. ʿAbdallāh campaigned in al-Khuttal. In it, Asad slew Badr Ṭarkhān, the prince of al-Khuttal.

Asad's Campaign against al-Khuttal: This Campaign and the Reason for His Killing Badr Ṭarkhān

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities whom we have mentioned before: Asad campaigned against al-Khuttal—it was the campaign against Badr Ṭarkhān—dispatching Muṣʿab b. ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī to it. Muʿsab kept going along until he encamped near Badr Ṭarkhān, who sought safe conduct for the purpose of going forth to Asad. Muṣʿab responded positively, whereupon Badr Ṭarkhān went forth to Asad to ask him for certain things, but Asad held back. Then Badr Ṭarkhān asked him that he accept from him
[1630] one million dirhams. Asad responded to him, "You are a stranger from the people of al-Bāmiyān.[572] Leave al-Khuttal as you entered it." Badr Ṭarkhān said to him, "You entered Khurāsān on ten readied mounts, but if you were to leave it today, you would not be transported by (even) five hundred camels. Besides that, I entered al-Khuttal with something; therefore, give that thing back to me so that I may go out of al-Khuttal as I entered it." Asad said, "What is that?" Badr Ṭarkhān said, "I entered it as a youth, winning wealth by the sword, while God provided a family and children. Therefore, give me back my youth so that I may leave al-Khuttal. Do you think I should abandon my family and children? What would my survival be (worth) after my family and children?" Thus Asad became angry.

Badr Ṭarkhān trusted in the guarantee of safe conduct. But Asad said to him, "I will put a seal on your neck, as I fear for you on account of the treachery of the troops." Badr Ṭarkhān said, "I do not want that. I will be satisfied from your side by a man who will convey me to Muṣʿab." But Asad only wanted to put a seal on his neck. Thus he put a seal on his neck and turned him over to Abū al-Asad, his mawlā. Abū al-Asad set out with him until he reached al-Muṣʿab's camp in the evening. Salamah b. Abī ʿAbdallāh was among the mawālī with Muṣʿab. Abū al-Asad came to Salamah while he was putting the siege engine in

572. A city south of Balkh deep in the Ghūr mountains. See EI^2, s.v. Bāmiyān.

its place. Salamah asked Abū al-Asad, "What has the amīr done in the matter of Badr Ṭarkhān?" Abū al-Asad then related what Badr Ṭarkhān had proposed, Asad's refusal of that and his sending Badr Ṭarkhān with him to al-Muṣʿab so that the latter might let him enter the fortress. Salamah said:

"The amīr has not done right in what he has done. He will reconsider that and regret (it). Rather, he should have taken what [1631] Badr Ṭarkhān offered him, or held him without letting him enter his fortress. For we only have entered it by bridges which we set up and narrows which we repaired.[573] The hope of peace has kept him from sallying out against us. But if he despairs of peace, he will not leave aside any effort (against us). Therefore, leave him in my tent tonight. Do not go off with him to al-Muṣʿab, for as soon as he sees him, he will allow him to enter his fortress."

Thus Abū al-Asad and Badr Ṭarkhān remained in Salamah's tent. Asad advanced with the men along a narrow way where the troops became cut off from one another. Asad passed on until he reached a river. He had become thirsty. Not having with him any of his servants, he called for water. Al-Sughdī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Ṭuʿmah al-Jarmī[574] had a *shākirī* with him. The *shākirī* had a Tibetan horn. Al-Sughdī took the horn, put some parched barley in it, poured water from the river on it, and shook it. He then gave Asad and a group of the troops' leaders a drink from it. Next, Asad alighted in the shade of a tree, summoning a man from his guards, that he might rest his head on the guardsman's thigh. Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī came up leading his horse until he sat down opposite him, where Asad was looking. Asad asked him, "How are you, O Abū al-ʿAdabbas?" Al-Mujashshir replied, "Badr Ṭarkhān was in our hands. He offered what he offered, but neither did the amīr accept from him what he offered him, nor did he tighten his grip on him. Rather, he let him go, command- [1632] ing that he be brought into his fortress, owing to what he has—he claims—of good faith."

Asad regretted (his act) at (hearing) that. He summoned a guide from the people of al-Khuttal and a man from the Syrian forces

573. This probably refers to filling in the moat. Apparently the fortress had been partially taken.

574. His personal name probably Muḥammad. He later appears as a Yamanī leader in the civil strife of 128(746)–129(747). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1924–6, 1971.

who was skilled at getting through and had a brisk horse. The two of them were brought to him. He said to the Syrian, "If you overtake Badr Ṭarkhān before he enters his fortress, you will get a thousand dirhams. The two then set off until they came to Muṣ'ab's camp. The Syrian called out, "What has the lout done?" He was told, "[He is] with Salamah." The guide went back to Asad with the news. The Syrian stayed with Badr Ṭarkhān in Salamah's tent. Asad sent for Badr Ṭarkhān, transferring him [back] to himself. When Asad reviled him, Badr Ṭarkhān knew that he had broken his pledge. Therefore, he threw a pebble toward the sky saying, "This is God's pledge!" He took another and threw it toward the sky, saying, "This is Muḥammad's pledge!" He began to do likewise with the pledge of the Commander of the Faithful and the pledge of the Muslims. Asad ordered that his hand be cut off. Asad said, "Who here is of the relations of Abū Fudayk?" —a man from the Azd whom Badr Ṭarkhān had slain. A man from the Azd stood up and said, "I am." Asad said, "Behead him!" The Azdī did so. Asad then overcame the greater castle. Above it, a small castle remained, in which were Badr Ṭarkhān's children and possessions, but Asad did not reach it. Asad dispersed his cavalry in the valleys of al-Khuttal.

[1633] Asad arrived at Marw, where Ayyūb b. Abī Ḥassān al-Tamīmī[575] was governor. He dismissed him, appointing [instead] Khālid b. Shadīd, his own paternal cousin. When he went away to Balkh, he heard that 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym had married al-Fāḍilah bt. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. He wrote to Khālid b. Shadīd, saying, "Compel 'Umārah to divorce the daughter of Yazīd. If he refuses, whip him a hundred lashes." Therefore, Khālid sent a message to 'Umārah, who came while al-'Udhāfir b. Zayd al-Taymī was with Khālid. Khālid ordered 'Umārah to divorce al-Fāḍilah, which he did after an [initial] refusal. 'Udhāfir said, "By God, 'Umārah is the champion of the Qays and its lord. Al-Fāḍilah is no more splendid than he." That is to say, she was not nobler than he was. Khālid b. Shadīd died and was succeeded by al-Ash'ath b. Ja'far al-Bajalī.[576]

In this year, al-Ṣuḥārī b. Shabīb[577] rebelled as a Khārijite at

575. He seems to have had interests in al-Sughd, where he appears with Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī in 104(722). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1444.

576. Text: *al-Najalī*; read: *al-Bajalī*, as in Cairo ed.

577. Al-Shaybānī, the son of the notorious Kūfan Khārijite Shabīb b. Yazīd

Jabbul.[578]

The Story of al-Ṣuḥārī b. Shabīb

According to Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā: Al-Ṣuḥārī b. Shabīb came to Khālid (b. 'Abdallāh) requesting a stipend. Khālid said, "What would the son of Shabīb do with a stipend?" Therefore, Ibn Shabīb took his leave of him and departed. Khālid repented, fearing that he would cause an outbreak against him. Thus he sent a message to him, summoning him. Al-Ṣuḥārī said, "I was at his place before." But the messengers refused to leave him alone, wherefore he drew his sword against them. At this, they left him, while he rode off, going until he passed beyond Wāsiṭ. [1634]
Then he slaughtered his horse and boarded a skiff to hide his location. Then he headed toward a band of the Banū Taym Allāt b. Tha'labah who were at Jabbul. He came to them girded with his sword and told them his story and the story of Khālid. They said to him, "What did you hope for by a stipend? You would have been better off to go in to the son of the Christian woman and smite him with your sword!" Al-Ṣuḥārī said, "By God, I did not want the stipend; I did not want except to reach him so that he would know who I was. Then I would assassinate the son of the Christian woman for his having killed so-and-so"—before that, Khālid had tortured to death a man from those of the Ṣufriyyah[579] who stayed at home. Then al-Ṣuḥārī called on them to rebel with him. Some of them answered him positively; others said, "We will wait," while others refused, saying, "We are in good circumstances." When he saw that, he said:

I did not seek the stipend from him except,
    Out of eagerness to kill him, to get at him
And to relieve the earth from him and from whomever
    Creates havoc in it and inclines away from right.
Every stubborn oppressor I see
    Has abandoned right and follows waywardness as sunnah.

(26(647)–77(696) or 78(697)). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 327; Ṭabarī, II/2, 972.

578. A small town on the east bank of the Tigris in the Lower Nahrawān district about halfway between Wāsiṭ and al-Madā'in. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38 and map II.

579. One of the Khārijite parties. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣufriyya.

I am sacrificing myself for my Lord,
Abandoning talk among the people and gossip.
Giving up my family and wealth, I hope for
Family and wealth in gardens of immortality.

About thirty men gave him the oath of allegiance. He rebelled at Jabbul, then set out until he came to al-Mubārak.[580] That reached Khālid, who said, "I was afraid he might do this." Then Khālid sent troops against him. They met al-Ṣuḥārī in the district of al-Manādhir.[581] He fought them fiercely, but then they enveloped him, killing him and all of his companions.

Pilgrimage and Governors

[1635] According to Abū Ja'far: In this year, Abū Shākir Maslamah b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī[582] made the pilgrimage with him in this year. The governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if in this year was Muḥammad b. Hishām. In charge of Iraq and the East was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī. Khālid's governor in charge of Khurāsān was his brother Asad b. 'Abdallāh. It has been said that Asad perished in this year, leaving as his successor in charge of Khurāsān Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī. It has also been stated that Asad, the brother of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, only perished in the year 120. In charge of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad.

580. A town about five *farsakhs* below Jabbul on the east bank of the Tigris opposite Nahr Sabūs. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38.

581. Two districts just north of al-Ahwāz in Khūzistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 239, 242n.

582. The famous Madīnan scholar. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Zuhrī.

The Events of the Year 120

(December 29, 737—December 17, 738)

Among these was the summer campaign of Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, in which he reportedly captured Sindirah;[583] the campaign of Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī,[584] who captured the castles of Tūmānshāh and devastated his land; and the campaign of Marwān b. Muḥammad against the land of the Turks.

In this year was the death of Asad b. ʿAbdallāh, according to the statement of al-Madāʾinī.

The Reason for Asad's Death

The reason for it: He reportedly had an internal abcess.[585] He attended (the feast of) al-Mihrijān while he was at Balkh, when the amīrs and *dihqāns* brought him presents. Among those who came to him was Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī, his governor

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583. This would appear to be the same as the fortress of Sideroun mentioned by Theophanes, but it cannot be further identified. See Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 103; Brooks, "Arabs in Asia Minor," *Hellenic Studies*, XVIII, 201.

584. A Jazarī lieutenant of Marwān b. Muḥammad, he was in charge of Armenia in 132(750) when he switched sides to join the ʿAbbāsids, becoming thereby one of al-Manṣūr's prominent companions. His family was prominent for generations. See Crone, *Slaves*, 106.

585. Ar. *dubaylah*. Also: a tumor. The exact nature of the disease, usually fatal, is unclear. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. d-b-l.

[1636] of Herat and Khurāsān, and the *dihqān* of Herat. The two of them brought him a gift valued at a million (dirhams). Among that which they brought were a fortress of silver, a fortress of gold,[586] pitchers of gold, pitchers of silver, and large dishes of gold and silver. The two of them came forward as Asad was sitting on the raised seat and the nobles of Khurāsān on the chairs. They set down the two fortresses, then put behind them the pitchers, large dishes and silk garments[587] of Marw, Qūhistān[588] and Herat, until the cloth spread out (for the feast) was filled. Among what the *dihqān* brought Asad was a ball of gold. Then the *dihqān* stood to deliver a speech and said:

"May God make the amīr prosper! We Iranian people ruled the world for four hundred years. We ruled it with forbearance, reason, and dignity, though there was not among us a clear book nor a God-sent prophet. (Great) men with us were three. (First) is one fortunate in nature; wherever he goes, God conquers through him. (Second) is a man whose manly qualities have been completed in his house; if he is like that, he will be welcomed, greeted, exalted, given command, and advanced. (Third) is a man whose heart is big and whose hand is open (with generosity), so that he is wished for; if he is like that, he will be given command and advanced. God has put in you the characteristics of these three by whom we ruled for four hundred years, O amīr. We do not know of any-
[1637] one who is more perfect in leadership than you. You have kept your household, entourage, and mawālī in line so that there is not one of them who can transgress against either a little man or a great one, a rich man or a poor one. This is perfection of leadership. Then, you have built arched halls in the deserts to which one visitor comes from the east, another from the west. Neither of them finds a fault, but rather they say, 'Glory be to God! How excellent is that which has been built!' Included in your natural good fortune is that you met the Khāqān when he was leading a hundred thousand men and accompanied by al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. You defeated him, made him flee, killed his men, and plundered

586. These must be models.

587. Dozy mentions that Marw was famous for these garments. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 113n.

588. The mountainous district south of Naysābūr. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 352–63.

his camp. As for your big-heartedness and open-handedness, we do not know which of two kinds of wealth is more delightful to you: wealth that has come to you or wealth which has gone forth from you. Indeed, you are more delighted by that which has gone forth!"

Asad laughed and said, "You are the best of Khurāsān's *dihqāns* and the most excellent in giving." Asad gave him an apple which was in his hand. The *dihqān* of Herat prostrated himself before Asad. Asad fell silent looking at those gifts. He looked to his right, saying, "O 'Udhāfir b. Yazīd![589] Command someone to bear away this gold fortress." Then he said, "O Maghrā'[590] b. Aḥmar, head of the Qays!—or he said, of Qinnasrīn—Command someone to bear this fortress away." Then he said, "O so-and-so, take a pitcher," and, "O so-and-so, take a pitcher." He gave away the large dishes until two large dishes remained. He said, "Stand up, O Ibn al-Ṣaydā', and take a little dish." Ibn al-Saydā' took one, lifted it to test its weight, then put it down. Then he took the other one and [1638]
lifted it, testing its weight. Asad asked him, "What is the matter?" Ibn al-Ṣaydā' answered, "I will take the heavier one." Asad said, "Take them both together." He gave also to the lesser officers and to those who had performed outstandingly in war. Abū al-Ya'fūr, who used to go before the ruler of Khurāsān in military campaigns, rose and called out, "Onward, to the road!" Asad said, "How excellent is that which you have called attention to regarding yourself! Take two silken garments." Maymūn al-'Adhdhāb[591] stood up, saying, "To me, to your left, to the thoroughfare!" Asad said, "How excellent is that which you have called attention to regarding yourself! Take a silken garment."

Asad gave away all that was on the cloth spread on the ground. Nahār b. Tawsi'ah said:

You (people) are few when one who rewards summons to war,
But on the morning of al-Mihrijān you are many.

Then Asad fell sick, but, recovering somewhat, he came out one day and was brought the first pears that came (that season). He fed the people from them one by one. He took a pear and threw

589. Elsewhere given Ibn Zayd. See note 510.
590. Text: *Ma'n*; read: *Maghrā'*, as elsewhere.
591. That is, the one who carried out punishments.

it to Khurāsān, the *dihqān* of Herat, whereupon Asad's internal abscess ruptured (from the strain), causing him to perish. He left as his successor Ja'far al-Bahrānī—who is Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah—in the year 120. The latter held office for four months. The appointment of Naṣr b. Sayyār came in Rajab of the year 121. Ibn 'Irs al-'Abdī said:

A herald has announced the death of Asad b. 'Abdallāh,
    And the heart has been shocked for the obeyed king.
At Balkh, destiny met (him), coming by night;
    The decree of your Lord cannot be held back.
Pour forth tears, O eye, in a generous flow.
    Does not the sundering of the union make you sad?
His death came to him inside of Ṣīgh,[592]
[1639] And how many a brave hero is at al-Ṣīgh!
Regiments that answered the summoner
    Upon lightly loaded, freely raiding, quick-stepping
    mounts.
You were given abundant rain; you were yourself rain
    Bringing forth rich pasturage for the seeker of
    wholesome pasture.

Sulaymān b. Qattah, the mawlā of the Banū Taym b. Murrah,[593] who was a friend of Asad, said:

God has watered Balkh, the plain of Balkh and its rugged ground,
    And the two Marws[594] of Khurāsān with clouds
    filled to excess.
I am not concerned about your being watered by it, but about a pit
    In which they have buried noble remains and bones,
A contender with great peoples who cuts them down,
    A seeker of vengeance, mighty like a lion, huge.
He would give his sword its due in war,

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592. The seat of Asad's estates in Khurāsān, presumably beside Balkh. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 439.

593. Also said to be al-'Adawī, he was a Baṣran traditionist (*muḥaddith*) famed for his poetry. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r wa Shu'arā'*, 62. He must have been quite old if he is the same as the Sulaymān b. Qattah who was quoted by al-Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr (d. 72(691)). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 165. Elsewhere he is even said to have heard Mu'āwiyah (d. 60(680)) and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (d.ca. 43(664)), though this can hardly be correct. Qattah was his mother. See Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 596.

594. That is, Marw al-Shāhjān, the provincial capital, and Marw al-Rūdh.

And water the straightened Zā'ibī[595] spearhead (with blood).

According to Abū Ja'far: In this year, the party of the Banū al-'Abbās in Khurāsān sent Sulaymān b. Kathīr to Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Abbās to inform him about their activity and its current state.

The Reason for the Khurāsānīs' Sending Sulaymān b. Kathīr to Muḥammad b. 'Alī

The reason for that was the anger of Muḥammad b. 'Alī against those of his party who were in Khurāsān, owing to their having obeyed Khidāsh, whose story we have referred to before, and their [1640] acceptance from him of those lies that were transmitted on his authority. Therefore, Muḥammad ceased writing to them. When his letter was slow in coming to them, they met, making mention of that among themselves. They resolved on the appointment of Sulaymān b. Kathīr to meet Muḥammad regarding their activity, to inform him about themselves, and to return to them with what he answered. Sulaymān b. Kathīr—according to what has been reported—came to Muḥammad b. 'Alī while the latter was alienated from those of his party who were in Khurāsān. Sulaymān told him about them. Muḥammad rebuked them on account of their following Khidāsh and what he had summoned them to, saying, "May God curse Khidāsh and those who follow his religion!" Then he sent Sulaymān away to Khurāsān. He also wrote them a letter to be taken by him. Sulaymān came to them with the letter, which was sealed. They broke its seals but found nothing in it except, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful."[596] That was hard for them (to bear), and they (now) knew that what Khidāsh had brought them was at variance with the command of Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

In this year, Muḥammad b. 'Alī sent Bukayr b. Māhān to his party in Khurāsān after Sulaymān b. Kathīr had departed from him to them. He wrote a letter (for Bukayr to take) with him to them, telling them that Khidāsh had led his party to a position at vari-

595. Referring to a town of Zā'ib. See Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīt*, s.v. z-'-b.
596. This formula opens all Muslim Arabic letters.

ance with his own. Bukayr came to them with his letter, but they did not believe him and made light of him. Bukayr went back to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who sent with him rods covered some with iron and some with brass. When Bukayr came (again) to them, he gathered the *nuqabāʾ*[597] and the faction, giving a rod to each man among them. Thus they learned that they had been at variance with his position, whereupon they came back repenting.

[1641] In this year, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik dismissed Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh from all of the offices to which he had appointed him.

The Reason for Hishām's Dismissal of Khālid al-Qasrī

(Sundry) statements have been given about that. We will mention those which have reached us containing a report on that subject.

It has been said regarding that: Farrūkh Abū al-Muthannā had assumed an obligation for the estates of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik in a place called Rustāq al-Rummān or Nahr al-Rummān. He was called thereby Farrūkh al-Rummānī. His position was hard for Khālid to bear. Khālid said to Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī,[598] "Woe to you! Go forth to the Commander of the Faithful and (ask him to) increase the payment (required) of Farrūkh." After this, he increased it against him by a million dirhams.'" Hishām then sent out two men from among the honest inhabitants of Syria to take possession of the estates. Ḥassān thereby became more burdensome to Khālid than Farrūkh. Therefore, Khālid began to do harm to him. Ḥassān said to him, "Don't alienate me, for I am your disciple." But Khālid refused except to do him injury. When Ḥassān came to Khālid, the latter broke the dikes to flood the estates (that Ḥassān was responsible for). Then Ḥassān went to Hishām to say, "Khālid has broken the dikes to flood your estates." Hishām sent a man to look at them. Then the man came back to Hishām, telling him (the news). Ḥassān said to one of Hishām's servants, "If you will speak a word which I will tell you where Hishām will hear it, you will receive from me a thousand dinars." The servant said,

597. The twelve highest-ranking leaders of the party in Khurāsān.

598. He had charge of great land reclamation projects in Iraq. He last appears in 126(744) in the entourage of the Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 252n, 331, 333; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1779.

"Hurry the one thousand to me (now) and I will say what you wish." Thereupon Ḥassān paid him and said to him, "Make one [1642]
of Hishām's boys cry. When he has cried, say to him, 'Be quiet! By God, it is as if you are the son of Khālid al-Qasrī, whose income is thirteen million (dirhams).'" He made Hishām hear that, but the latter disregarded it. Following that, Ḥassān came in to him. Hishām said to him, "Draw near to me," whereupon Ḥassān drew near. He asked him, "How much is Khālid's income?" Ḥassān answered, "Thirteen million (dirhams)." Hishām asked, "How is it that you did not tell me about this?" Ḥassān replied, "Did you ask me?" This thought became established in Hishām's mind, so that he resolved to dismiss Khālid.

It has been said that Khālid used to say to his son Yazīd. "You are not less than Maslamah b. Hishām, for you most certainly outshine the people in three things the like of which no one else can boast of: I have controlled the Tigris with dikes, I have the honor of providing water to the pilgrims at Mecca, and I hold the governorship of Iraq."

It has been said that the only thing that made Hishām angry with Khālid was: A man from the Quraysh went in to Khālid, whereupon the latter made light of him, upbraiding him. The man then wrote to Hishām to complain, whereupon Hishām wrote to Khālid:

"Now then: The Commander of the Faithful—even if he has left your hand free, as well as your policy, with regard to those whose rule he has entrusted you with and made you the keeper of, owing to that which he has hoped for of your competence and that which he has relied on of the excellence of your management—has not laid before you the eminent man of his household in order for you to trample him with your foot, nor for you to look sharply at him with your glance. Indeed, when you have turned your tongue against their eminent man in Iraq with reproach, seeking thereby to lessen his importance and to scorn his standing, how could you claim to have dealt fairly with him? That has even brought you out to using rude language toward him in the public audience, not [1643]
even moving aside for him, when you saw him approaching, from the middle of your elevated seat which God has made smooth for you! Among your people is he who surpasses you in his personal merit and who overwhelms you by his priority. You obtained your

seat by means of the family of ʿAmr,[599] who elevated (you) from your lowliness, and in particular made you equal to the branches of the best tribes and their chiefs before the Commander of the Faithful. You have even settled on a mountain whence you have begun to look down on them with boastful pride. This (is your position), if your paltry gratitude does not cause you to roll down smashed and fallen. O son of the woman among your people who takes the scurf off her head with a comb,[600] should you not have highly esteemed the man of the best tribe when he entered your presence, should you not have made ample place for him to sit when you saw him approach and should you not have withdrawn from the center of your couch to honor him? Should you not have conversed with him, facing him with your joyful countenance, in order to honor the Commander of the Faithful? When he was seated comfortably, you should have chatted with him amiably, exalting his close relationship (to the Caliph) and acknowledging his right, for he is the tooth and tusk of the two houses, as well as the son of the patriarch of the house of Abū al-ʿĀṣ and of Ḥarb and their eminent man. The Commander of the Faithful swears by God to you that if not for the esteem you were held in before and (if not) that he would hate to see the malicious rejoicing of your enemy over you, he would most certainly have abased you as much as he raised you, so that he would have returned you to a condition by which you would miss (even) the needy people in your Iraq and the crowding of processions at your door. How close I am to making you a follower of he who was a follower of you!

"Therefore, arise in any case when the messenger of the Com-
[1644] mander of the Faithful meets you with his letter, whether at night or day, and go walking on your feet with those of your servants who are with you, until you stand at Ibn ʿAmr's door ignomin-

599. That is, ʿAmr al-Ashdaq b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, the son of ʿUthmān's governor of al-Kūfah and famous as a rebel executed by ʿAbd al-Malik. Khālid's father ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Qasrī had been the chief of ʿAmr's security force (*shurṭah*). The Qurashī in question here is one of ʿAmr's sons, probably Saʿīd b. ʿAmr, who had been with his father during his revolt and subsequently migrated to al-Madīnah and al-Kūfah, whence he paid a visit at an advanced age in 126/744 to the anti-Yamanī Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd. See Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 200-1; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 178-80, 182. Khālid's offence is not merely maltreatment of an Umayyad but the ingratitude of a client to the son of his patron as well.

600. Ar. *mujarrishah*. This could be read simply as *mujarrasah*, a disgraced woman, though this has no support either from ancient texts or modern editors.

iously, seeking permission to enter to justify yourself to him, whether he lets you in or denies you (entry). If feelings of mercy move him, he will bear your (presence). But if disdain and scorn keep him from giving you access to him, then stand by his door for a year, neither moving aside nor retiring. Your matter will be up to him after that, whether he dismisses (you) or appoints (you) to office, whether he takes his revenge (on you) or pardons (you). May God curse you as one trusted with confidence (betrayed)! How many are your faults! How unseemly to people of noble station are your expressions, which have not ceased reaching the Commander of the Faithful, owing to your risking them against one who is more deserving of that which you have of the governorship of the two major cities of Iraq, as well as more senior and more righteous. The Commander of the Faithful has written to his paternal cousin regarding that which he has written to you about his disapproval of you, so that he may give his opinion regarding pardoning you or remaining angry with you. The Commander of the Faithful has given him jurisdiction in that, and he is responsible for it. He will be held praiseworthy by the Commander of the Faithful whichever of the two he brings to you, with success, God willing."

His letter to Ibn ʿAmr:

"Now then. Your letter has reached the Commander of the Faithful, who has understood what you mentioned concerning Khālid's upbraiding you in public audience while despising your station, belittling your relationship to the Commander of the Faithful and your sympathetic feelings toward the Caliph as a result of family ties. (I have also understood) your refraining from (answering) him, thereby exalting the Commander of the Faithful and his authority, and thereby holding fast to the bonds of protection given by obedience to him. (This you did) despite the painfulness of what befell you owing to Khālid's reprehensible words, the malevolence of his speech, and his continuing to attack you, [1645]
though you were silent towards him, (while he was) enjoying to the full that the Commander of the Faithful had freed his tongue, loosened his reins, raised up his lowliness, and elevated (him from) his obscurity. Just so you, the family of Saʿīd, in cases like this, when exposed to the babbling of riffraff and the foolishness of their minds, are mute, not (trying to) silence (your opponents),

but rather having a forbearance which would lighten the weight of the mountains.

"The Commander of the Faithful commends your exaltation of him and your respect for his authority and his thanks. He has also made over to you the matter of Khālid regarding your removing him or confirming him in office. If you dismiss him, your dismissal will be effected. If you confirm him, that will be a benefit from you to him that the Commander of the Faithful will not thank you for. The Commander of the Faithful has written to him that which will bring him to his senses. It commands him to come to you on foot in whatever condition the letter of the Commander of the Faithful finds him—whether the messenger sent to him happens to meet him in the night or the day—until he stands by your door, whether you admit him or block him, whether you confirm him in office or dismiss him. The Commander of the Faithful has authorized his messenger to beat him on the head with twenty lashes in your presence, unless you dislike that happening to him owing to your respect for his past service to you. Whichever of the two you decide to effect, the Commander of the Faithful will agree (to it) and will love it, in accordance with your righteousness, the greatness of your esteem, your relationship, and your ties of blood, according to what he intends with regard to enforcing the rights of the family of Abū al-'Āṣ[601] and Sa'īd. Therefore, write to the Commander of the Faithful about whatever you like, whether you begin (the correspondence) or respond. (Do this) both to converse and to pass along requests from your family, who are members of the Commander of the Faithful's own household, to you
[1646] concerning their needs. For modesty may have kept them from obtaining these before, owing to the distance of their homes from the Commander of the Faithful and the paucity of their opportunity for traveling to bring their needs to his attention. You ought not to be ashamed of (applying to) the Commander of the Faithful, nor be afraid of repeating their requests to him, owing to the status of their relationship, their stations, and their noble lineages. Whether seeking a grant, asking for help, making a request, or asking for more, you will find the Commander of the Faithful to be swift to (respond to) you in good faith, owing to his desire to ce-

601. A mistake for al-'Āṣ. See note 599.

ment your relationship (through gifts) and to enforce your rights. The Commander of the Faithful seeks God's help to accomplish what he intends and turns to Him hoping for help to effect the right of his blood relationship. He trusts in Him and has confidence in Him. God is his Ally and his Master. Peace."

It has been said that Khālid would often in mentioning Hishām say, "The son of the retarded woman". The mother of Hishām used to behave foolishly. We have mentioned her story already.

It has been reported that Khālid wrote a letter to Hishām which enraged him. Hishām wrote back to him, "O son of Umm Khālid, it has reached me that you say, 'The governorship of Iraq is not an honor for me.' O son of a stinking woman, how is the governorship of Iraq not an honor for you, when you are from the small, contemptible Bajīlah? Rather, by God, I think that the first who comes unto you from the Quraysh will bind your arms to your neck."

It has been reported that Hishām wrote to him, "I have heard about what your saying, 'I am Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Asad b. Kurz; I am not the most noble of the five.'[602] Rather, by God, I will send you back to your mule and your Fayrūzī[603] hood." [1647]

It has been reported that it reached Hishām that Khālid would say to his son, "How will you be when the sons of the Commander of the Faithful need you?" At this, anger appeared on Hishām's face.

It has been said that a man of the people of Syria came to Hishām to say, "I heard Khālid mentioning the Commander of the Faithful by that which should not escape from two lips." Hishām interjected, "He said, 'The crosseyed one.'" The man said, "No, rather he said worse than that." Hishām asked, "What is it?" The man said, "I will never say it." Hishām did not cease hearing about Khālid that which he disliked until his attitude toward him changed.

It has been reported that a *dihqān* entered the presence of Khālid and said, "O amīr, your son's income has exceeded ten million (dirhams). I fear that this may reach the Commander of the Faithful and that he may consider it too much. The people love your

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602. That is, "I did not ennoble my family, but it already had high standing."

603. This probably refers to a town that produced the garment, possibly the village of Fayrūz near Ḥimṣ. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 233.

body, but I love your body and your soul." Khālid responded, "Asad b. ʿAbdallāh has spoken to me in the same vein, and you put him up to it!" The *dihqān* said, "Indeed." Khālid said, "Woe to you! Leave my son alone, for it may be that he will seek a dirham and not be able to get it." Then, when the matters communicated to him about Khālid that he did not like became too many for him, Hishām resolved to dismiss him. But when he decided on that, he hid what he had decided to do to him by his command.

The Action of Hishām in Removing Khālid When His Resolve to Dismiss Him Had Become Firm

According to ʿUmar—ʿUbayd b. Jannād—his father and certain scribes: Hishām concealed Khālid's dismissal. He wrote to Yūsuf
[1648] in his own handwriting while the latter was the governor of the Yaman, (telling) him to come (to Iraq) with thirty of his companions. Yūsuf went forth until he reached al-Kūfah, alighting for rest during the night near it. Ṭāriq, Khālid's deputy in charge of the *kharāj*, had just circumcised his son, giving him a thousand excellent horses, a thousand slave youths, and a thousand slave girls, besides money, clothes and other things. The night patrol passed by Yūsuf and his companions while Yūsuf was performing his worship and the odor of perfume was emanating from his robes. The watchman asked, "Who are you?" They answered, "Travelers." He asked, "Where are you headed for?" They replied, "A certain place." Then the patrol came to Ṭāriq and his companions, and said, "We have seen a group whom we are unacquainted with. We think we ought to kill them, for if they are rebels, we will be delivered from them, while if they are going to (attack) you, we will learn that so that you will be ready with regard to them." But they forbade them to kill them. The patrol returned to its rounds. While it was still dark in the early morning, Yūsuf had moved on and gone to the dwellings of the Thaqīf, and thus the night patrol passed by them. The watchman asked, "Who are you?" They answered, "Travelers." He asked, "Where are you headed for?" They replied, "A certain place." The patrol came to Ṭāriq and his companions, and said, "They have gone to the dwellings of the Thaqīf. We think we should kill them." But they forbade them.

Yūsuf commanded one of the Thaqafīs, saying, "Gather for me

whoever is in al-Kūfah from the Muḍar," and he did so. Yūsuf entered the mosque with the dawn and ordered the *mu'adhdhin* to call for the worship service to begin, but the latter said, "Not until the imām comes." At this, Yūsuf roughly shoved him aside and called for the worship service to start. Yūsuf stepped forward and [1649] recited, "When the event befalls,"[604] and, "A questioner asked."[605] Then he sent (forces) to Khālid, Ṭāriq and their companions, so that they were taken away while the pots were boiling.

According to 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Rabī' b. Sābūr, the mawlā of the Banū al-Ḥarīsh, to whom Hishām had entrusted the privy seal along with the guard: A letter came to Hishām from Khālid, making him angry. Also on that day, Jundab, the mawlā of Yūsuf b. 'Umar came to him with Yūsuf's letter. Hishām read it and then said to Sālim, the mawlā of 'Anbasah b. 'Abd al-Malik,[606] "Answer him in your own words." Hishām himself wrote a small note in his own handwriting. Then he said to me, "Bring me Sālim's letter." Sālim was in charge of the correspondence office. I brought his letter to Hishām, who put the small note inside it. Then, he said to me, "Seal it," and I did so. Then he summoned Yūsuf's messenger and said, "Your master certainly has an aggressive disposition and makes requests above his station." Then he said to me, "Rip up his clothes." Then he ordered that he be whipped. After that he said, "Take him away from me and give him the letter." Thus I gave him the letter, saying to him, "Woe to you! Make your escape!"

Bashīr b. Abī Thaljah of the inhabitants of al-Urdunn, who was Sālim's deputy, doubted (the matter), saying "This is a trick. He [1650] has made Yūsuf the governor of Iraq." He wrote to a subordinate of Sālim in charge of Ajamat Sālim,[607] who was called 'Iyāḍ, saying, "Your family have sent you a Yamanī robe. When it comes to you, put it on and praise God. Inform Ṭāriq of that." Thus 'Iyāḍ sent

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604. Qur'ān 56:1. The title of the chapter is meant, so that he also would have recited the succeeding verses.

605. Qur'ān 70:1. The rest of the verse is, "...concerning a torment about to befall."

606. Abu al-'Alā'. Ibn Khayyāṭ calls him the mawlā of Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik. He was still in office at Hishām's death in 125(743) and was influential with the Caliph. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1729–31; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 545.

607. Or: Sālim's canebrake. But it appears to be a place name in Iraq.

a letter to Ṭāriq b. Abī Ziyād.[608] Bashīr regretted his letter and wrote to ʿIyāḍ, "Your family have decided to keep back the robe. Therefore, do not rely on it." ʿIyāḍ then brought the latter letter to Ṭāriq. Ṭāriq said, "The news is in the first letter, but your master has regretted (sending it) and fears that the news may leak out." Having written this down, Ṭāriq rode from al-Kūfah to Khālid, who was at Wāsiṭ. He traveled for a day and a night, reaching him in the morning. Dāwūd al-Barbarī, who was in charge of admission to Khālid's presence and of his guard as well as being in charge of the correspondence office, saw Ṭāriq. Dāwūd informed Khālid, who became angry, saying, "He has come without permission!" But he admitted him.

When he saw him he asked, "What has brought you?" Ṭāriq replied, "A matter in which I erred." Khālid asked, "What is it?" Ṭāriq answered, "The death of Asad, may God have mercy on him. I wrote to the amīr to tender my condolences to him regarding Asad, but I ought to have come to him walking." At this, Khālid softened and his eye shed a tear. He said, "Go back to your work." Ṭāriq said, "I wished to mention a subject to the amīr in private." Khālid said, "There is no secret of which Dāwūd is not aware." Ṭāriq said, "It is a matter relating to myself." Dāwūd became angry and went out. Ṭāriq told Khālid, who asked, "What do you think?" Ṭāriq answered, "You (should) ride to the Commander of the Faithful to apologize to him for anything that may have reached him about you." Khālid said, "What an evil man I would be then, if I rode to him without his permission." Ṭāriq
[1651] said, "Then another thing." Khālid inquired, "What is it?" Ṭāriq replied, "You travel in your province while I go ahead of you to Syria to ask permission of him for you. You will not have reached the farthest borders of your province before his permission comes to you." Khālid said, "Not this either." Ṭāriq said, "Then I will go and guarantee to the Commander of the Faithful all that has been lost in these years. Afterwards I will personally bring you your (re)appointment." Khālid asked, "How much does it amount to?" Ṭāriq answered, "One hundred million (dirhams)." Khālid asked, "Where will I get this? By God, I would not find ten thousand dirhams." Ṭāriq said, "I and Saʿīd b. Rāshid will bear forty mil-

608. Text: *Ziyādh*; read; *Ziyād*, as in Cairo ed.

lion dirhams, al-Zaynabī and Abān b. al-Walīd[609] twenty million, and the rest will be apportioned among the subordinate officials." Khālid said, "In that case, I would most certainly be vile, if I gave a group of people something then went back on it." Ṭāriq said, "That we only protect you as well as protect ourselves with our money, so that we may resume our life of this world, and that (its) blessing may remain upon you and upon us, is better than someone coming to demand from us our money, which is with the merchants of the people of al-Kūfah. They would hold aloof and wait, so that we would be killed and they would consume that money." But Khālid refused. Ṭāriq took leave of him weeping. He said, "This is the last time we will meet in this world."

When he had gone on his way, Dāwūd entered. Khālid told him what Ṭāriq had said. Dāwūd declared, "He knew that you would not go forth without permission. Thus he wanted to deceive you and go to Syria to take hold of Iraq, he and the son of his brother, Sa'īd b. Rāshid." Ṭāriq returned to al-Kūfah, while Khālid went out to al-Ḥammah.

Yūsuf's messenger came to him in Yaman. Yūsuf asked, "What [1652]
do you bring?" The messenger said, "Evil. The Commander of the Faithful is angry. He has beaten me and did not write the answer to your letter; this is the letter of Sālim, the secretary of the correspondence office." Yūsuf opened the letter and read it. When he reached the end of it, he read the note of Hishām in the latter's own handwriting saying, "Go to Iraq, for I have now appointed you to it. Beware lest anyone learn of that. Arrest the son of the Christian woman and his officials and cure me of them." Thereupon Yūsuf said, "Look for a guide knowledgeable about the road." He was brought a number and chose a man from among them. He set out the same day, leaving as his successor in Yaman his son al-Ṣalt,[610] who saw him off. When he wanted to go back, he asked him, "Where are you headed for?" Yūsuf beat him a hundred lashes, saying, "O son of a stinking woman, is it hidden from you when I finally find a firm position?" Yūsuf then went on. Whenever he would come upon two (diverging) roads,

609. He was later in charge of the security force of Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī in al-Kūfah briefly in 127(745). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1902.

610. He was slain by Khārijites in the Yaman 129(747). See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 583.

he would ask (about them). If he was told, "This one is for Iraq," he would say, "Take the way to Iraq," until he arrived at al-Kufah.

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Bishr b. 'Īsā—his father—Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī: I arranged for a physician for Hishām. I was in his presence while he was looking at that physician when he asked, "O Ḥassān, how long does it take someone to reach Iraq from the Yaman?" I answered, "I do not know." He said:

I gave you a decisive order but you disobeyed me
And hence have become deprived of rule, regretful.

It was only a little while before Yūsuf's letter came from Iraq. He had reached it, that being in Jumādā al-Ākhirah of the year 120.

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Sālim Zunbīl: When we reached al-
[1653] Najaf,[611] Yūsuf said to me, "Go bring me Ṭāriq." I could not refuse him. I said inside myself, "Who do I have to range against Ṭāriq and his power?" Then I came to al-Kūfah. I said to the servants of Ṭāriq, "Ask leave for me to (see) Ṭāriq," but they beat me. Thereupon I shouted to him, "Woe to you, O Ṭāriq! I am Sālim, the messenger of Yūsuf. He has come to Iraq." At this, he came forth shouting at his servants, "I am coming to him."

It has been related that Yūsuf said to Kaysān,"Go bring Ṭāriq to me. If he comes, transport him on the pack saddle of an ass. If he does not come, drag him to me." At al-Ḥīrah, I[612] came to the house of 'Abd al-Masīḥ,[613] who was the chief of the people of al-Ḥīrah. I told him, "Yūsuf has arrived in Iraq. He commands you to bind Ṭāriq and bring him to him." He went forth with his sons and servants until they came to Ṭāriq's residence. Ṭāriq had a brave servant who had brave servants armed and equipped. The servant said to Ṭāriq, "If you give me permission, I will go forth along with those with me against these and kill them. Then you may flee headlong, going whither you will." But Ṭāriq admitted Kaysān and said, "Tell me about the amīr. Does he want money?" Kaysān answered, "Yes." Ṭāriq said, "I will give him what he asks for." They traveled to Yūsuf and arrived at al-Ḥīrah. When Yūsuf

611. A town four miles west of al-Kūfah still in existence. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 76.

612. That is, Kaysān.

613. Probably al-Ghassānī, a descendent of the 'Abd al- Masīḥ who surrendered al-Ḥīrah to the Muslims in 12(633). See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 207, II, 126.

saw him with his own eyes he beat him severely—it is said five hundred lashes.

Yūsuf entered al-Kūfah and sent 'Aṭā' b. Muqaddam[614] to Khālid at al-Ḥammah.

According to 'Aṭa': I came to the *ḥājib* (chamberlain) and said, "Ask permission for me to see Abū al-Haytham." He went in, his face being changed. Khālid asked him, "What is the matter with you?" He answered, "(Only) good." Khālid said, "You have not brought good." The *ḥājib* said, "'Aṭā' b. Muqaddam. He said, 'Ask permission for me to see Abū al-Haytham.'" Khālid said, "Let him in." Thus I went in. Khālid said, "The woe of her mother is a fit of anger."[615] I did not settle down until al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt[616] entered and sat with Khālid, who said to him, "There is no one who would succeed me more beloved to me than your family." [1654]

Yūsuf delivered a speech in al-Kūfah, saying, "The Commander of the Faithful has ordered me to arrest the officials of the Christian woman's son and to cure him of them. I will do so and more, by God. O people of Iraq, I will most certainly slay your hypocrites by the sword and your criminals and transgressors by torture." Then he descended (from the pulpit) and went to Wāsiṭ. He was brought Khālid while he was at Wāsiṭ.

According to 'Umar—al-Ḥakam b. Naḍr—Abu 'Ubaydah: When Yūsuf imprisoned Khālid, Abān b. al-Walīd obtained the promise of his release from him for nine million dirhams. Then Yūsuf regretted that. He was told, "Had you not done so, you would have taken a hundred million dirhams." Yūsuf said, "I will not turn back when I have pledged my tonque to something." Khālid's friends informed Khālid (of what they had done). He said, "You did wrong when you gave him at the first moment nine million. I do not feel secure that he will not take it and then come back to you (for more). Therefore, go back." They came to Yūsuf, saying, "We have told Khālid, but he did not consent to what we have brought together. He told us that he is not able to pay the money." Yūsuf

614. He lived into the reign of al-Mahdī (158(775)–169(785)) at least. See Ṭabarī, I/3, 588.

615. Or: "The woe of her mother is Sukhṭah," though Sukhṭah is not a known feminine name, but neither is the word attested in the dictionaries. Probably it is an obscure proverb.

616. Al-Thaqafī, of the family of Yūsuf and al-Ḥajjāj, he was governor of al-Kūfah for Yūsuf in 122(740). See Crone, *Slaves*, 150.

responded, "You and your master know better. As for myself, I will
[1655] not revoke my promise to you. If you go back on your offer, I will not stop you." They said, "We have withdrawn it." Yūsuf asked, "Have you done so?" They said, "Yes." He said, "The breach has come from you. By God, I will not be satisfied with nine million nor its like, nor twice its like." He took more than that. It has been said that he took a hundred million.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī[617]—Ibn 'Ayyāsh:[618] Hishām resolved to dismiss Khālid. The reason for that: Khālid acquired property and dug canals, so that his income reached twenty million (dirhams). Among his estates were: Nahr Khālid, which produced an (annual) income of five million (dirhams), Bājawwā,[619] Bārummānā, al-Mubārak, al-Jāmi', Kūrat Sābūr and al-Ṣilḥ.[620] He would often say, "By God, I am unjustly treated. There is nothing under my feet except that it belongs to me"—meaning that 'Umar[621] had made over a quarter of al-Sawād to the Bajīlah.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī—al-Ḥasan b. 'Umārah[622] —al-'Uryān b. al-Haytham:[623] I would often say to my companions, "I reckon that this man[624] has been gotten rid of. The Quraysh will not bear this one and his like, for they are an envious people, while this one makes known what he makes known." One day I said to him: "O amīr, the people have turned to you with their harsh glances. It is the Quraysh. There is not any compact between you and them. They may find an escape from you, but you will find no
[1656] escape from them. I adjure you by God that you write to Hishām to tell him about your wealth and to offer him whatever he would like from it. How able you are to take up the like of it! Meanwhile,

617. Al-Thu'alī ca. 130(747)–206(821) or 207(822), he was a Kūfan historian and genealogist who lived in Wāsiṭ. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 272.

618. He is 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh al-Mantūf al-Hamdānī al-Murhibī, a Kūfan transmitter. See Ṭabarī, Indices, 333; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, III, 128.

619. A place near Babylon by al-Quff. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 314.

620. A canal flowing east from the Tigris seven *farsakhs* above Wāsiṭ. Also, its district. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38.

621. That is, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He is said to have made this grant after the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. See Donner, *Islamic Conquests*, 242.

622. Abū Muḥammad al-Kūfī, the mawlā of the Bajīlah, d. 153(770), the judge of Baghdad for al-Manṣūr. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 304–8.

623. Al-Nakha'ī al-Kūfī. He had charge of Khālid's security force in al-Kūfah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 190–1.

624. That is, Khālid.

he will not consider you wanton, even if he is eager for that. By my life, that some goes and some is left is better than that it all go. It would not be better in what is between you and him that he take all of it. I am apprehensive that an unjust or envious person may come to him and that he may accept (accusations against you) from that person. That you give to the Caliph through willful obedience is better than that you give to him through compulsion."

Khālid responded, "You are not an accuser,[625] and that will never happen." I said, "Hearken to me and make me your messenger. By God, he will not untie a knot except that I will bind it more strongly, nor will he tie a knot but that I will undo it." But Khālid said, "By God, we will not give in humiliation." I asked, "Did you have these estates except during his rule? Can you refuse him to take them?" Khālid answered, "No." I said, "Then anticipate him, for he will keep them for you and thank you for them. If you were not obliged to him for other than what he started you with, you would deserve to keep it," Khālid said, "No, by God, that will never be." I said, "Whatever you will do if he dismisses you and takes your estates, do (now), for his brothers, his sons, and his household have anticipated you, constantly speaking to him about you, though they are obliged to you for favors which are manifest to you. Then, make up for your faults by completion of what you have done of your favors to Hishām." He said, "I see what you are [1657]
saying. But there is no way to achieve that." Al-ʿUryān would say: It is as if you were with him when he was removed, his money was taken and he was falsely charged with crimes. Then he would not profit by anything. That is how it was.

According to al-Haytham—Ibn ʿAyyāsh: Bilāl b. Abī Burdah, who was his governor in charge of al-Baṣrah, wrote to Khālid when Hishām's reproof reached him, "Something has happened which I find no escape from talking to you about personally. If you decide to give me permission, it is only a night and its day to you, a day with you and a night and its day to go back." Khālid wrote to him, "Come, if you like." Thus Bilāl himself and two mawlās of his rode on swift-footed asses, travelling a day and a night. Then he performed the sunset worship at al-Kūfah, which was (a distance of) eighty *farsakh*s (from al-Baṣrah). Khālid was informed of

625. Or: accused.

his place and came to him, having put on a turban.

Khālid said, "O Abū ʿAmr, you have tired yourself out!" Bilāl said, "Indeed." Khālid asked, "When did you leave al-Baṣrah?" Bilāl answered, "Yesterday." Khālid asked, "Is it true what you say?" Bilāl replied, "By God, it is what I said." Khālid inquired, "What has wearied you?" Bilāl answered, "That which reached me about the reproof of the Commander of the Faithful and his statement, as well as that which his sons and his household desire concerning you. If you think fit, I will face him to offer him some of our wealth. Then, we will invite him to (take) of it what he likes, we ourselves being agreeable to it. Then, I will offer him your wealth. Whatever he takes from it will be for us to recoup later." Khālid responded, "I[626] do not accuse you, but I will look into it." Bilāl said, "I fear that you may be dealt with swiftly." Khālid said, "Certainly not." Bilāl said, "The Quraysh are those whom you know about, especially their speed in acting against
[1658] you." Khālid said, "O Bilāl, by God, I will never give anything under compulsion." Bilāl asked, "O amīr, may I speak?" Khālid answered, "Yes." Bilāl said, "Hishām is more justified than you. He will say, 'I appointed you when you had nothing. Do you not think it right that you offer to me some of what has become yours?' I fear that Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī will make attractive to him that which you will not be able to overtake. Therefore, seize (the opportunity of) this period of time." Khālid responded, "I am considering that. Now go back rightly guided."

Bilāl went back, saying, "It is as if you are with this man when there has been sent to him a man who is a foreigner and a spurious intruder, who is violent, of a detestable nature, stupid in religion, shameless, who is seized with deep-rooted hatreds and blood-feuds." He[627] was as he said.

According to Ibn ʿAyyāsh: Bilāl had taken up a house in al-Kūfah. He only asked Khālid for permission to come so that he might look over his house. But he did not stay in it except in chains. Since then, the house has been made into a prison to this day.

According to Ibn ʿAyyāsh: Khālid would give a sermon and say,

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626. Or: "He has not accused you!"
627. This refers to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar.

"You have claimed that I have made prices expensive for you. May God's curse be upon he who makes them dear!" Hishām had written to Khālid, "Do not sell anything of the crops until the crops of the Commander of the Faithful have been sold, so that a measure of grain may reach a dirham."

According to al-Haytham—Ibn 'Ayyāsh: The governorship of Khālid began in Shawwāl of the year 105. Then he was dismissed in Jumādā I of the year 120.

In this year, Yūsuf b. 'Umar came to Iraq as its governor. I have previously mentioned the reason for his governorship of it. [1659]

In this year, Yūsuf b. 'Umar made Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī governor of Khurāsān, removing Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah.

It has been said that Yūsuf, when he came to Iraq, wanted to appoint Salm b. Qutaybah[628] governor of Khurāsān. He wrote to Hishām about that, asking him permission to effect it. Hishām wrote (back) to him, "Salm b. Qutaybah is a man who does not have a tribe in Khurāsān. Had he had a tribe in it, his father would not have been killed there."

It has been said that Yūsuf wrote to al-Kirmānī, appointing him to the governorship of Khurāsān, (and sent the letter) with a man of the Banū Sulaym who was at Marw. The Sulamī went out to the people to give them a sermon. He praised God and lauded him. He mentioned Asad, his coming to Khurāsān, what they had suffered of fatigue and discord and what had been done for them at Asad's hand. Then he made kind mention of his brother Khālid, praising him. He also mentioned Yūsuf's arrival in Iraq and urged the people to obedience and adherence to unity. Then he said, "May God forgive the dead one"—meaning Asad—"and may God pardon the one dismissed and bless the one who has come." Then he descended (from the pulpit).

In this year, al-Kirmānī was dismissed from Khurāsān, whose governorship was assumed by Naṣr b. Sayyār b. Layth b. Rāfi' b. Rabī'ah b. Jurayy b. 'Awf b. 'Āmir b. Junda'[629] b. Layth b. Bakr b.

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628. Al-Bāhilī, he was a prominent son of the great Qutaybah b. Muslim and governed al-Baṣrah near the end of Umayyad rule, as well as both al-Baṣrah and al-Rayy for al-Manṣūr. See Crone, *Slaves*, 137.

629. Ibn al-Kalbī has Naṣr b. Sayyār b. Rāfi' b. Judayy b. Rabī'ah b. 'Āmir b. Hilāl b. 'Awf b. Junda'. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 40. The same without b. Hilāl is given by Ibn Ḥazm. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 183–4.

ʿAbd Manāh b. Kinānah. His mother was Zaynab bint Ḥassān of the Banū Taghlib.

The Reason for Naṣr b. Sayyār's Governorship of Khurāsān

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: When (news of)
[1660] the death of Asad b. ʿAbdallāh reached Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, he consulted his companions about a man who would be suitable for Khurāsān. They indicated various groups of men, writing down their names for him. Among those who were written down for him were: ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir al-Riqāshī, Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, Qaṭan b. Qutaybah b. Muslim, and al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī, one of the Banū Ḥarām. As for ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, Hishām was told, "He is a drinker." Hishām was also told, "Al-Mujashshir is a decrepit old man," while it was said to him, "Ibn Ḥuḍayn is a man in whom there is haughtiness and pride." It was said to him as well, "Qaṭan b. Qutaybah is a seeker of revenge." Thereupon he chose Naṣr b. Sayyār. He was told, "Naṣr has no tribal grouping in Khurāsān." At this, Hishām declared, "I will be his tribal grouping," and appointed him governor.

Hishām sent Naṣr's appointment with ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Salīṭ b. ʿUqbah[630] al-Hiffānī, of the Hiffān b. ʿAdī b. Ḥanīfah. ʿAbd al-Karīm brought his appointment, having with him his secretary Abū al-Muhannad, the mawlā of the Banū Ḥanīfah. When he arrived in Sarakhs,[631] no one knew about him. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbbād al-Taymī, the brother of Tamīm b. ʿUmar was in charge of Sarakhs. Abū al-Muhannad gave Ḥafṣ the news, whereupon Ḥafṣ dispatched a messenger and had him conveyed to Naṣr. Ibn Salīṭ having reached Marw, Abū al-Muhannad gave the news to al-Kirmānī. Al-Kirmānī dispatched Naṣr b. Ḥabīb b. Baḥr b. Māsik
[1661] b. ʿUmar al-Kirmānī to Naṣr b. Sayyār. But Ḥafṣ's messenger preceded him to Naṣr b. Sayyār, becoming the first to greet him with the title of rule. Naṣr said to him, "Perhaps you are (only) a crafty

630. This element is given elsewhere as b. ʿAṭiyyah, which is probably correct. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 552; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 341.

631. A still-existing city currently on the border of the extreme northeast of Iran and of Soviet Turkmenistan. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 395–6.

poet," and gave the letter (back) to him.

Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah had appointed 'Amr b. Muslim governor of Marw, while he removed al-Kirmānī. He appointed Manṣūr b. 'Amr governor of Abrashahr and appointed Naṣr b. Sayyār governor of Bukhārā.

According to Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah: I summoned Naṣr some days before his appointment came, and proposed to him that I appoint him governor of Bukhārā. He consulted al-Bakhtarī b. Mujāhid. Al-Bakhtarī, who was the mawlā of the Banū Shaybān, said to him, "Do not accept it." Naṣr asked, "Why not?" Al-Bakhtarī answered, "Because you are the chief of Muḍar in Khurāsān. It is as if your appointment over all of Khurāsān has come." When his appointment came, he sent a messenger to al-Bakhtarī. Al-Bakhtarī said to his companions, "Naṣr b. Sayyār has assumed the governorship of Khurāsān." When al-Bakhtarī then came to him, he greeted him as amīr. Naṣr asked him, "How did you know?" Al-Bakhtarī replied, "When you sent a messenger to me, though before that you used to come to me yourself, I knew that you had assumed the governorship."

It has been said: Hishām said to 'Abd al-Karīm when the news about Asad b. 'Abdallāh, regarding his death, reached him, "Whom do you think we should appoint to Khurāsān? For it has reached me that you have knowledge about it and its people."

According to 'Abd al-Karīm: I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, as for the man of Khurāsān in regard to resoluteness and courage, he is al-Kirmānī." Hishām turned his face away, saying, "What is his name?" I said, "Juday' b. 'Alī." He said, "I have no need for him," having drawn an ill omen (from his name).[632]
He next said, "Name someone else for me." I said, "The experi- [1662]
enced, eloquent one, Yaḥyā b. Nu'aym b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī, Abū al-Maylā'." He said, "The frontiers will not be blocked with the Rabī'ah."

According to 'Abd al-Karīm: I said to myself, "He dislikes the Rabī'ah and the Yaman; therefore, I will throw the Muḍar at him." I said, "'Aqīl b. Ma'qil al-Laythī,[633] if you would forgive a weak-

632. The name Juday' is a diminutive for "one whose nose is cut off."

633. 'Aqīl b. Ma'qil b. Ḥassān, a close relative of Naṣr b. Sayyār. He was killed by Abū Muslim in 130(748) after having been a companion of Naṣr. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 128; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 354–6; Ṭabarī III/2, 1989.

ness." He asked, "What is it?" I replied, "He is not chaste." He said, "I have no need of him." I said, "Manṣūr b. Abī al-Kharqā' al-Sulamī, if you would forgive a negative characteristic, for he is ill-omened." Hishām said, "Other than him." I said, "Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī, sensible, brave, who has sound thinking despite his being somewhat of a liar." He responded. "There is no good in lying." I said, "Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn." He said, "Did I not tell you that the frontiers will not be blocked with the Rabī'ah?" Whenever I mentioned the Rabī'ah and the Yaman, he turned away.

According to 'Abd al-Karīm: I held back mentioning Naṣr, though he was the most manly of the group, as well as the most resolute of them and the most knowledgeable of them about governmental policy. I said now, "Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī." Hishām said, "He's the one for it." I said, "If you would forgive one thing, for he is chaste, experienced and sensible." He said, "What is it?" I said, "There are few of his tribal group there." Hishām said, "May you have no father! Do you want a tribal group more numerous than me? I will be his tribal group."[634]

According to others: When Yūsuf b. 'Umar arrived in Iraq, he said, "Show me a man whom I may make governor of Khurāsān." His companions suggested to him Maslamah b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim,[635] Qudayd b. Manī' al-Minqarī,[636] Naṣr b.
[1663] Sayyār, 'Amr b. Muslim, Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim, Manṣūr b. Abī al-Kharqā', Salm b. Qutaybah, Yūnus b. 'Abd Rabbihi,[637] and Ziyād b. 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Qushayrī.[638] Yūsuf

634. Curiously, the same is said about Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī having no tribal grouping on his appointment in 86(705). Actually, both the Bāhilah and the Layth seem to have been quite numerous in Khurāsān, judging by the frequency with which their members are mentioned there. See Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 128; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 429–30.

635. Al-Sulamī. See note 50.

636. Naṣr b. Sayyār's father-in-law, of a very noble Tamīmī lineage. He appears in Naṣr's entourage in 126(744) and 128(746). See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 76; Ṭabarī, III/2 1865, 1889, 1921–2, 1925.

637. A stalwart supporter of Naṣr until his execution by Abū Muslim in 130(748). Possibly the son of 'Abd Rabbihi b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythī. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1235, III/2, 1846, 1920, 1929, 1989, 1995. Pace Crone, *Slaves*, 53, 241–2, his mention here requires an Arab lineage.

638. A son of the fiscal governor of Khurāsān under 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ziyād governed Naysābūr for Naṣr and in 130(748) resisted Abū Muslim's forces as Naṣr's governor of Balkh. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1409, 1442, 1997–9; Ibn al- Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I,

wrote a letter with their names to Hishām, praising the Qaysīs. He put Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī as the last of those whose names he wrote. Hishām said, "Why is the Kinānī the last of them?" There was in Yūsuf's letter to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, Naṣr has only a small tribal group to support him in Khurāsān." Hishām wrote back to him, "I have understood your letter and your praise for the Qaysīs. You have mentioned Naṣr and the smallness of his tribal group. How can it be small when I am his tribal group? Rather, you have preferred the Qaysīs to me, but I prefer the Khindif to you. Send forth the appointment of Naṣr, for the Commander of the Faithful will not make his tribal grouping less, let alone that the Tamīm are the most numerous of the people of Khurāsān."[639] Hishām wrote to Naṣr that the latter might correspond with Yūsuf b. 'Umar. Yūsuf sent Salm as an emissary to Hishām, praising him, but Hishām did not appoint him. Then Yūsuf sent Sharīk b. 'Abd Rabbihi al-Numayrī as an emissary, praising him so that Hishām would appoint him governor of Khurāsān, but Hishām refused him.

Naṣr sent al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr al-Usayyidī[640] from Khurāsān as an emissary to Hishām. Naṣr praised him. Yūsuf beat him and prevented him from going forth to Khurāsān. When Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah[641] came (to power later) he made al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd his governor of Kirmān. Hishām sent the appointment of Naṣr with 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥanafī, who had with him his secretary Abū al-Muhannad, the mawlā of the Banū Ḥanīfah. When he came to Sarakhs, snow had fallen; therefore, he stayed, lodging with Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. 'Abbād al-Taymī. He told him, "I have brought the appointment of Naṣr as governor of Khurāsān." Ḥafṣ was at that time the governor of Sarakhs. Ḥafṣ summoned his servant, mounted him on a horse and gave him money, saying to him, [1664]

105, II, 127, 606.

639. This refers to the fact that the Tamīm are closer to Naṣr than to the Qays in the tribal genealogy of the Muḍar, and hence Naṣr would be more likely to garner their support than a Qaysī, especially since he was married to at least two Tamīmī women. See note 65.

640. Text: *al-Asadī*; read: *al-Usayyidī*. See Crone, *Slaves*, 167, where he is incorrectly identified as a candidate of Yūsuf b. 'Umar rather that Naṣr. For the vocalization of Usayyidī, also given erroneously by Crone, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 48–9.

641. Abū Khālid al-Fazārī, the governor of Iraq for Marwān b. Muḥammad, he was killed in Wāsiṭ by the 'Abbāsids in 132(750). See Crone, *Slaves*, 107.

"Fly, and kill the horse (if need be). If it falters under you, buy another than it so that you may reach Naṣr." The servant went forth until he came to Naṣr at Balkh. Finding him in the market, he gave him the letter. Naṣr asked him, "Do you know what is in this letter?" He replied, "No." Naṣr grasped it in his hand and retired to his house.

The people said, "Naṣr's appointment to Khurāsān has come to him." A group of his intimates came to him to ask him. He replied, "Nothing has come to me," and thus he remained that day. On the next day, there came to him Abū Ḥafṣ b. ʿAlī, one of the Banū Ḥanẓalah, who was his relative by marriage, since Abū Ḥafṣ's daughter was his wife. Abū Ḥafṣ was tall and fickle and had much wealth. He said to Naṣr, "The people have been talking and saying much about your governorship. Has something come to you?" Naṣr answered, "Nothing has come to me." Thereupon Abū Ḥafṣ stood up to go out, but Naṣr said, "Stay in your place." He read him the letter. Abū Ḥafṣ said, "Ḥafṣ would not write to you other than the truth." While he was speaking to him, ʿAbd al-Karīm suddenly asked permission to enter. ʿAbd al-Karīm presented his appointment to him, whereupon Naṣr rewarded him with ten thousand dirhams.

Then Naṣr put Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim in charge of Balkh, and put Wassāj b. Bukayr b. Wassāj[642] in charge of Marw al-Rūdh, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥashraj[643] in charge of Herat, Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī in charge of Abrashahr, Abū Ḥafṣ b. ʿAlī, his father-in-law, in charge of Khwārizm and Qaṭan b. Qutaybah in charge of al-Sughd. A man from the Syrian troops said, "I never saw tribal favoritism like this." Naṣr said, "Yes (you did), that which was before this." For four years, he did not appoint
[1665] anyone but a Muḍarī. Khurāsān throve with a prosperity the like of which it had not enjoyed before that. Naṣr lowered the *kharāj* and performed the duties of ruling and tax collecting well. Sawwār b. al-Ashʿar said:

Khurāsān has become safe after fear

642. Text: *Wishāḥ b. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ*; read: *Wassāj b. Bukayr b. Wassāj*, as in Ms. B. His *nisbah* is al-ʿUṭāridī. He is the son of a governor of Khurāsān. See note 254.

643. Al-Jaʿdī. He appears as a poet in 126(744). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1857; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 106, II, 112.

Of the oppression of every tyrant covetous of rule.
When news of what it had met came to Yūsuf,
He chose Naṣr for it, Naṣr b. Sayyār.

Naṣr b. Sayyār said regarding those who disliked his rule:

Console yourself for love; you will not be blamed.
Likewise anxiety will not seize you.
Have you, if Kabīrah has become wrathful after nearness,
Stayed in love with her, and has sickness touched you?
She holds out hope today for that which she promised recently
And the noble have been disappointed in the expectation of her appointments.
Have you not seen that what women who shun adornment do
Is difficult, talk not looming[644] about it?
My obedience refused me, as my bravery refused me,
Along with my triumph when the contest is fought.
We cause neither one who takes refuge with us to perish,
Nor personal merit when right has been lost,
Nor do we overlook treachery, but we ourselves
Keep good faith, so that we are not blamed.
Our Caliph is he whose hands have won
The cup of praise, and he is the magnanimous king.
We dominate them through him, and we have over them—
If we say (it) tremendous noble qualities. [1666]
Abū al-'Āṣ is his ancestor, and 'Abd Shams,
Ḥarb and the generous, noble lords,
And Marwān, the father of the Caliphs, upon whom
Praise is exalted, he being a standard for them.
Among us is the house of the Caliph of the All-Compassionate,
Whose two houses are the Holy[645] and the Inviolable.[646]
We are the noblest ones, if our genealogy is mentioned,
And the first of terrestrial beings and the chief.
There has come into our possession from every subtribe
The noses of the living beings (by which they are led) and the reins.

644. Text: *yurīgh*; read: *yarī'*, as Mss. B, BM, and in the Cairo ed.
645. That is, the sanctuary at Jerusalem, containing the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā mosque.
646. That is, the sanctuary at Mecca containing the Ka'bah.

We have hands by which we do good and we exhaust,
And hands in whose foreparts are swift (swords),
And violent strenght in war when we meet (the enemy),
When the warner in it is ever the sword.

Naṣr's appointment came to him in Rajab of the year 120.[647] Al-Bakhtarī said to him, "Read your appointment and deliver a sermon to the people." Thus Naṣr delivered a sermon to the people. He said in his sermon, "Stick, O companions of ours, to your way, for we have come to know your good and your evil."

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl led the pilgrimage.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

It has been said that he who led the pilgrimage in it was Sulaymān b. Hishām. It has also been said that Yazīd b. Hishām[648] led the pilgrimage.

The governor in this year of al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if was Muḥammad b. Hishām. In charge of Iraq and the whole East was Yūsuf b. 'Umar. In charge of Khurāsān was Naṣr b. Sayyār, though it has been said it was Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah. In charge of al-Baṣrah
[1667] was Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī[649] on behalf of Yūsuf b. 'Umar. In charge of its judiciary was 'Āmir b. 'Abīdah al-Bāhilī.[650] In charge of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad. In charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah was Ibn Shubrumah.[651]

647. This date clashes with the statement that 'Abd al-Karīm, Hishām's messenger, was held up by snow at Sarakhs. See above, p. 1663.

648. Al-Afqam, the son of the Caliph Hishām by his wife Umm Ḥakīm. He was arrested by al-Walīd b. Yazīd in 125(743), then was one of the first to render the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd in 126(744). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1776, 1835; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 167.

649. Abū al-'Āj. He was the head of the security force (*shurṭah*) for al-Walīd b. Yazīd's governor of Damascus in 126(744). See Crone, *Slaves*, 151.

650. He was in office until 126(744). See Wakī', *Quḍāh*, II, 42–3; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1698, 1875.

651. He is 'Abdallāh b. Shubrumah al-Ḍabbī 72(691)–144(761). Appointed by Yūsuf b. 'Umar as judge of al-Kūfah, he was sent by Yūsuf to govern Sijistān in 122(740). He is one of the greatest Kūfan jurists (*fuqahā'*). See Wakī', *Quḍāh*, III, 36–129; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1717; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 250–1.

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